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A F R I C A

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OBITUARY

PROFESSOR ÉDOUARD DE JONGHE

IT is with the deepest regret that we have to record the sudden death on 8 January 1950 of Professor Édouard De Jonghe, Secretary-General of the Institut Royal Colonial Belge and Consultative Director of this Institute.

Professor De Jonghe's long and distinguished career at the Belgian Ministry of Colonies, his notable achievements in the field of African ethnology, his ripe scholarship and his intellectual energy, were well known to a wide circle of colleagues and friends.

His association with this Institute dates from 1928, when he became a member of its Executive Council. He was always keenly interested in its activities and vigorously assisted in the promotion and organization of many schemes of linguistic and ethnological research; he also worked tirelessly to secure the interest and support of the Belgian Colonial Ministry and the Belgian Congo Government for the work of the Institute.

He first entered the Belgian Ministry of Colonies in 1908, visited the Congo in 1909, and in 1928 was appointed Director-General of Native Affairs, after undertaking a mission to the Congo in connexion with the organization of native education. From 1908 he occupied the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography at the University of Louvain—where he also lectured on Native Policy. In addition to publishing a number of studies and monographs, mainly on the ethnology of the Congo, some of which are listed below, he was the founder and first editor of the *Revue Congolaise* and the review *Congo*, director of *Bibliothèque Congo* and chairman of the editorial committee of *Zaire*. He had the pleasure of seeing his study of slavery in the Belgian Congo published shortly before his death.

In 1944 he endured a period of imprisonment at the hands of the German occupying forces in consequence of his refusal to countenance collaborationist activities. On his release in 1945 he returned to Brussels and, with strength and energies apparently unimpaired, renewed his activities as Secretary-General of the Institut Royal Colonial Belge and chairman of the Commission d'Ethnologie. In 1946 he re-established contact with the International African Institute, and in 1947 attended the meeting of its Executive Council in London, when he was appointed Consultative Director.

'Africa', the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

His death has removed another member of that distinguished company of scholars and administrators whose single-minded pursuit of scientific truth and devotion to Africa and its peoples first brought this Institute into being, and set the standard for its achievements. To the unfailing support and energetic labours of Édouard De Jonghe, and those who worked with him, the Institute owes a debt which cannot easily be measured.

PUBLICATIONS BY PROFESSOR ÉDOUARD DE JONGHE

Ethnographie du Congo, 1930.

'La famille chez les Congolais', *Semaine Internationale d'Ethnologie religieuse*, 1931.

L'Enseignement des indigènes au Congo Belge, 1931.

Notes sur les institutions, mœurs et usages des Congolais, 1933.

'Vers une langue nationale congolaise', *Inst. Roy. Col. Belge, Bull. des Séances*, 1935.

'Formations récentes de sociétés secrètes au Congo Belge', *Africa*, ix. 1, 1936.

'Les recherches ethnographiques en Belgique et au Congo Belge', *Man*, xlv, 1946.

'Les formes de l'asservissement dans les sociétés indigènes du Congo Belge', *Inst. Roy. Col. Belge, Bull. des Séances*, 1948.

Numerous other papers.

PROFESSOR CONTI ROSSINI

WE regret to announce the death in Rome on 21 August last, in his seventy-eighth year, of Professor Carlo Conti Rossini. A member of the Executive Council of the Institute from 1929 to 1939, Professor Conti Rossini warmly supported and assisted the work of the Institute, especially in its formative period.

We are happy to quote below from an appreciation of his career by Professor V. L. Grottanelli, of the Museo Preistorico, Rome.

'In the early nineties, when Professor Conti Rossini's scientific career began, very little was known of many of the languages and cultures of north-east Africa, and the information available was confused and conflicting. It is largely to him that we are indebted for the progress which has since been made in this branch of studies. His unceasing activity in almost every field concerning Ethiopia for over half a century accounts for the vastness of his scientific production, which includes works on linguistics, ethnology, folk-literature, archaeology, native law and, above all, history. A profound philological grounding, long experience in the critical editing of ancient documents and inscriptions, ability in collecting oral traditions in the field and recording the laws and customs of a wide variety of peoples, together with a unique mastery of their history, are qualities seldom found in one scholar. This wide range of interests gave him the rare advantage of being able to view ethnic problems from more than one angle, and with a wider perspective than the average specialized student can command; yet this variety never affected the basic unity of his life-work.

'Alike in his detailed studies and in his large-scale works, the integrity of his scholarship, his caution in weighing and interpreting data and reaching conclusions convince the reader that he is walking on firm, well-tested ground. With these qualities—so characteristic of the man himself in everyday life, Conti Rossini combined the rarer gifts of deep historical insight and a capacity for far-reaching synthesis which enabled him to paint the ample fresco as well as the detailed miniature.

'An authority on the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, on which he lectured in the

University of Rome for twenty-nine years, and especially on Ge'ez and Tigrinya, he also made important contributions to the study of other linguistic families, extracting from the note-books of various explorers elements on hitherto unknown languages, both Hamitic and Nilotic. As a historian, his most important achievement is the *Storia d'Etiopia*, from its origins to the thirteenth century, the only work on the subject based on a critical examination of the sources, both classical and medieval, oriental and western. As a civil servant, from 1899 to 1903, he contributed to one of the initial stages of the pacification of Eritrea. The spirit in which he accomplished this task still lives in that remarkable treatise, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*—a rich and accurate description of the laws and customs of many different tribes, informed by an intuitive understanding of the spirit of the indigenous culture.

'A member of many learned societies and academies, both Italian and foreign, he was for many years a member of the International African Institute, and served on its Executive Council. For his profound knowledge of African problems, his immense scientific production, and especially for his understanding and sympathy towards the Africans themselves, he will be remembered as one of the leading Africanists of our time.'

DR. THOMAS JESSE JONES

WE regret to announce the death on 5 January 1950 of Dr. Jesse Jones, whose work for education, and particularly that of African peoples, has been one of the great influences in the development of African societies. Dr. Jesse Jones was for thirty-three years connected with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, first as its Educational Agent, and from 1917 to 1946 as its Educational Director. He was head of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commission which in 1920, at the request of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, visited West, South, and Equatorial Africa to study the educational, economic, social, and religious conditions of the African peoples of those areas. He edited the Commission's report which was published in 1922, and, as a result, was invited by the British Colonial Office to make a similar study in British East Africa. The report of this inquiry, *Education in East Africa*, was published in London in 1925. These reports were influential in the formation of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, of which Sir Hanns Vischer, the first Secretary-General of this Institute, was Secretary.

ANOTHER MODERN ANTI-WITCHCRAFT MOVEMENT IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA¹

M. G. MARWICK

MCAPE, THE PREDECESSOR OF THE MOVEMENT TO BE DESCRIBED

AS the title of this paper suggests, the movement described in it is not the first of its kind to have been recorded in Central Africa. About fourteen years ago Dr. Audrey I. Richards reported on a witchfinding movement associated with the Nyanja word *mcape*.² (Local variations include *mcapi*, *mucapi*, &c.—referring to the medicine—and the Bemba called the medicine-vendors the *Bamucapi*.)

Like the movement of Bwanali and Mpulumutsi to be described, that of Mcape started in Nyasaland and spread into the adjoining territories. When Dr. Richards observed it in Bemba country, it had spread some 500 miles from its epi-centre. As may be expected, the height of its popularity among the Bemba came after its peak phase among the Nyanja-speaking peoples to the east. Otherwise, however, the movement seems to have taken very similar forms in Nyanja and Bemba areas. Since the Bwanali-Mpulumutsi movement has revived so much of the 'current mythology' of its predecessor, it is necessary to remind the reader of this earlier movement; and the following summary is based on Richards' paper together with what Nyanja-speaking informants have told me of their recollections of it.

The Mcape movement was relatively decentralized. Young men, dressed in European clothes and claiming to be followers of a possibly mythical leader, Kamwende, would appear in a village and all the inhabitants would be assembled, given a sermon, and then lined up for a witchfinding ceremony. In this, the alleged witches were detected with the aid of small mirrors, and were called upon to yield up their 'horns' (harmful medicines). If they did not, then the witchfinders were said to disclose with unfailing perspicacity where these medicines were hidden. Having detected the witches, the witchfinders then proceeded to cure them by giving each one a sip of the famous *mcape* medicine, a red solution the soapy appearance of which is said to have given rise to the name of the movement (Nyanja: *kucapa* = to wash clothes). This medicine, it was claimed, would cause any witch who returned to his evil practices to die. In addition the witchfinders sold protective charms.

A number of 'current myths' supported the Mcape movement. It was believed that anyone who escaped by refusing to pass in front of the magic mirror would be caught at the second coming of the founder of the movement, who, outside each village at night, would beat a drum which would impel all witches to go to the final

¹ The material on which this paper is based was collected while I was doing social-psychological research sponsored by the Colonial Social Science Research Council. In addition to acknowledging the general support of the Council, I should like to thank Dr. Audrey I. Richards, Dr. Meyer Fortes, Mr. T. D. Thomson (of the Nyasaland Administration), Mr. D. B. Hall (of the Northern Rhodesia Administration), and the Staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for commenting on a (longer) draft of this paper.

The exigencies of space have prevented me from following all the suggestions they made, and none of the paper's defects should in any way be attributed to them. Native names and terms are written in Nyanja orthography in which *c* stands for *ts* and in which *w* sometimes stands for *v*. Bantu proper nouns and proper adjectives are written without prefixes.

² Richards, A. I., 'A Modern Movement of Witchfinders', *Africa*, viii (1935), pp. 448-61.

unmasking of their crimes. It was believed that Marya—‘not the Marya of the Catholic missions’¹—helped the witchfinders.

Richards points out that the movement was well integrated with both indigenous and modern aspects of Bemba life. In addition to being based on certain native beliefs and practices, it derived prestige from its having originated in Nyasaland, a country reputed to be one of high wages and educational facilities, and from its having borrowed many attributes of the powerful white rulers of Bemba country, such as European clothes, the use of bottles, the practice of making people form queues, the use of Christian practices (e.g. the preliminary sermon) and Christian beliefs (e.g. attributing to Kamwende a Christ-like resurrection and future ‘second coming’).

THE BWANALI-MPULUMUTSI MOVEMENT OF 1947

The movement to be described is the one initiated by Bwanali in Southern Nyasaland, and extended by his disciple, Mpulumutsi, alias Bonjisi, whose headquarters are near Furancungo in the district of Tete, Portuguese East Africa. Wherever possible I have quoted my own fairly literal translations of statements made in Nyanja to me or to my Nyanja-speaking assistants.

Certain of these statements will not be intelligible without a few introductory remarks about the culture, especially the witchcraft beliefs, of the ethnic group to which the informants belong. A fuller discussion of the social structure and the relation of these anti-witchcraft movements to modern structural changes will be given in another paper. All the informants are Nyanja-speaking, i.e. the majority belong to ‘tribal’ designations such as Cewa, Ntumba, Nyanja, &c. who in the past were collectively known as the Malawi, a name which more recently has become displaced by that of Nyanja because the Nyanja, or Lake, dialect happened to be the one taken up and standardized by the Europeans; a small minority of the informants, however, are Nyanja-speaking Ngoni—descendants of the Zulu-Swazi invaders who enslaved many of the Malawi peoples from about a century ago until, fifty years later, their power was broken by the Europeans.

The Nyanja autochthones were matrilineal, and the Ngoni invaders, patrilineal. Although the Ngoni were politically dominant in the nineteenth century, and although their supremacy has to some extent been entrenched under Indirect Rule, their influence has tended to touch only the formal, superficial parts of the Nyanja social system, leaving its more deep-seated characteristics, such as the mother’s brother’s rights over children, relatively unchanged. The Nyanja-speaking peoples are traditionally hoe-culturalists though, in modern times, cattle have become important in those areas free from tsetse fly.

The Nyanja witchcraft system is characterized by beliefs that witches are necrophagous, and that they attack only their matrilineal relatives. Their motives are said to be ‘hunger for meat’ (*nkhuli*), and/or the hatred of a kinsman, because, people say, there is no way of resolving hatred between matrikin other than the use of witchcraft. Nyanja make no clear distinction between witchcraft and sorcery. And they believe witches have familiars such as hyenas and owls.

The general opinion among Nyanja informants is that witchcraft is on the increase; and they certainly believe that it operates especially in the new situations arising

¹ Ibid., p. 451.

from modern social changes, e.g. in quarrels between mother's brothers and sister's sons over the ownership of cattle bought with wages earned by the latter at the labour centres. The alleged increase in the incidence of witchcraft is attributed, however, to the fact that the *mwabvi* poison ordeal, which in the old days was regularly applied as a measure of public hygiene, has been suppressed by the Europeans.

It should be noted that, among the statements that follow, those featuring Mpulumutsi are generally from Cewa informants in Fort Jameson District, Northern Rhodesia; those featuring Bwanali and those referring to Mpulumutsi as Bonjisi, from Ntumba and Ngoni informants in Ncheu District, Nyasaland. Fort Jameson Cewa sometimes refer to Mpulumutsi's medicine as Bonjisi.

In my notes the first reference to Bwanali occurs in a text written in June 1947. Within a month or two of this time Bwanali's fame and that of his disciple, Bonjisi, alias Mpulumutsi, had quickly spread over Nyasaland and the adjoining parts of Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa. In December 1947 I was able to have a short interview with Bwanali. From this source I shall give an account of the man himself and the attitude he takes towards his powers and towards people's response to his work. Next I shall quote the nearest I can find to a factual account of Mpulumutsi, after which I shall mention what appeared to be the personal motives of a few of the 'pilgrims'. Having thus dealt with the factual or near-factual aspect of the movement, I shall summarize what is of equal importance, viz. the beliefs and rumours that have been current about these men, and the effects these have had on village life. I shall conclude this section by referring back to my interview with Bwanali, when, in the manner of a newspaper reporter, I put certain statements to him for denial or confirmation.

Perhaps the best way of introducing Bwanali is to quote from the notes I made of my interview with him. For the previous four or five months I had been living in a world full of rumours about his wonderful work, and this accounts for the questions I asked him.

When I visited him, Bwanali was living in a village on the Chikwawa side of the boundary between Neno and Chikwawa Districts, Southern Nyasaland. I found him seated on a new reed mat outside a hut. He was simply dressed in new blue shirt and shorts, and he had a white cotton robe over his shoulder, though he left this behind when he showed me over the barrack-like shelters that had been built for his patients. These shelters were occupied by people who, he told me, were not yet well enough to go home. Next to him on his mat, Bwanali had a copy of the Nyanja Bible.

He told me he was a Mandala Ngoni, i.e. a member of the branch of Gomani's people living in what is now Portuguese East Africa. The fact that he gave his clan as Mbewe, however, means that if he were in Gomani's territory he would be known as an Ntumba rather than an Ngoni. To help me estimate his age, he told me he was on his mother's back at the time of the shooting of the elder Gomani (1896), and that he was grown up and married at the time of World War I. This would put him between 50 and 55. I thought he looked ten years younger than this. He told me that for many years he had been a hunter in Portuguese East Africa, but that he had given this up some time back in order to become a 'doctor' (herbalist). He was in Blantyre until quite recently. His present work started in July 1946. Contrary to rumour, he asserted, he did not die and wake up again or have any revelations that God wanted him to do this work: he simply found that the number of his successful cures suddenly increased. From this he felt that God was helping him.

Referring to his general procedure, Bwanali said that if a person comes to him, he makes incisions in his skin on various parts of his body and rubs medicine into them. If a person wants medicine to take home, he gives it to him, but taking medicine home is not a condition of being treated. If people want to dig the medicinal roots for themselves, he tells them all they want to know—how to identify the trees, dig the roots, prepare and administer the medicine. Those with intelligence, he added, go back and become ‘doctors’ among their own people. He does not receive any payment for his work.

When I asked him to explain the relationship between Bonjisi (Mpulumutsi) and himself, Bwanali said that after Bonjisi had been killed by the witchcraft of his relatives, his corpse was brought to him [Bwanali] and he revived him. Bonjisi stayed on to learn all about the medicines, and then went back to his own area to do work similar to his [Bwanali’s].

Asked whether people really confess their witchcraft to him, he said that they do. He emphasized that they do this before being given the medicine. He exhorts them to give up their evil practices. He points out to them that God did not create them bad, and that they should conduct themselves in a manner worthy of their creation. If they return to their tricks, he warns them, they will not continue to live. A return to witchcraft will make them feel ill, and this will be the sign that they are not behaving themselves as they should.

While I do not exclude the possibility that Bwanali was keeping information from me (our interview was rather a hurried one), the general impression I got of him was that he is very genuinely concerned with the growing incidence of man’s wickedness (in the form of witchcraft) and that he considers it his divine calling to help man throw it off. His system of morality seems consistent with both Nyanja and Christian patterns. Though his belief in witchcraft and his encouragement in others of this belief would probably be condemned by certain missionaries, no one can say that he is not a deeply religious man. From the mental hygiene viewpoint he probably does more good than harm. His function is comparable with that of a father-confessor or a psychiatrist in our own society. Though, according to Western standards, he may be misguided, his sincerity seems striking.

It was unfortunate that, at the time when I visited Bwanali, the beginning of the rains (which brings on the peak period of agricultural work) and a local outbreak of smallpox had reduced the enormous flow of his ‘pilgrims’ to a mere trickle. This, added to the shortness of the time I was able to put in at his village, made it impossible for me to interview any of the pilgrims themselves, and, in particular, to listen to any hair-raising confessions of necrophagy. There is undoubted evidence, however, that the movement assumed vast proportions. From many parts of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia people made the journey, of anything from ten days to three weeks, on foot into Portuguese territory to see Bwanali’s disciple, Bonjisi, or, as he was known locally, Mpulumutsi (Saviour). There was never any suggestion, however, that Mpulumutsi was the senior partner of the two anti-witchcraft workers.¹ Although myths associated with Bwanali were sometimes transferred to Mpulumutsi, everyone who had first-hand knowledge of the latter stated that ‘he took his know-how’ from Bwanali.

For various reasons I was unable to pay a visit to Mpulumutsi. I was able, however, to interview, or have interviewed by literate Cewa, a number of people who had made the strenuous journey to his headquarters in Portuguese East Africa. The nearest approach I have to a factual account of Mpulumutsi is a statement made to me by one of these men. I quote it because its content is representative and because,

¹ Since there is no evidence that either of these men has at any time accused anyone of witchcraft, one cannot properly refer to them as witchfinders.

since I have been on friendly terms with the informant for over a year and have interviewed him without an interpreter, its margin of distortion is probably low. This informant had just returned from a visit to Mpulumutsi which he had made in the company of three other men from the neighbourhood in which he lived. It is clear, of course, that both personal experience and hearsay are represented in his statement which follows.

We were ten days travelling before we arrived at his 'compound' which is at a place called Matenje in Portuguese Territory, in the direction of Blantyre. To get there we had to cross the Mpomfi River. No, it's not as far as the Shire. On the way we met a great many people. Some of them had come from as far as Southern Rhodesia—from Mandawi [a point on the Cewa labour route across the Zambezi valley to Southern Rhodesia]. Every day people come in crowds to Mpulumutsi.

To get to Mpulumutsi's you have to take the Misale road and branch off at Msekera. There's no road to the compound: there's only a narrow path and there's a wild bean in the grass that irritates your skin. The compound used to be a tobacco farm with barns. Now he's made a very big place of it.

Mpulumutsi got his knowledge and technique from Ce Bwana Ali¹ who does similar work at a place near Blantyre. It was after he had died and risen again that he went to Bwanali. We arrived on the morning of the eleventh day, and at two o'clock that afternoon he called us and made us stand in a long queue—men and women together. He then started to make incisions in our skins and rub medicine into them. He did this on our insteps, throats, chests and backs. He rubbed some medicine on our heads, gave us some to drink and some to take home with us. As he gave us the medicine, he told us to throw away all the medicines we had in our houses, especially those for killing people. Medicines not used for killing people, he said, should be thrown away, too, but fresh supplies of them might be dug without any danger—especially if they were mixed with some of the medicine he now gave us. That which he now handed to us we should use for this purpose, as well as for treating our relatives at home.

The person who gave these instructions was the one who died and woke up after his corpse had been two days in his house. After he had woken up he came with a book. It was a Christian book—the Nyanja Bible. This man was formerly a cook in Johannesburg. He is an Ngoni of Goman's group, still quite young—about my age [between 30 and 40]. His name is Joni [John], but he admits to the name of Mpulumutsi. When we got there, he asked us, 'Why have you come here?' We replied, 'We heard that Mpulumutsi was here.' 'O.K.',² he said, 'you've found me to-day. But if you've come with two hearts, you won't get home again. You must come with one heart only.' 'We want people of good heart', he continued, 'we don't want people who kill one another. This season the people will not get their hoeing done easily because they'll be too busy carting one another back and forth [i.e. burying one another]. This is because many people will forget my warning and die as a result of returning to their practice of killing their fellow men by witchcraft or of eating human flesh [i.e. of people killed by other witches].'

After we had been treated and given medicine to take away with us, we retired. Some people woke up with headaches, and went and complained of them to Mpulumutsi. He said to them, 'You've been eating your fellow men.' One confessed: 'Yes, I've eaten two of my children.' Another said, 'I've eaten my mother-in-law and her husband.'³ A third

¹ Ce is the Yao equivalent of 'Mr.'; Bwana is the Nyanja for 'master'.

² The most adequate translation of the much-used Nyanja expression, *cabwino*.

³ These latter two relationships are not commonly regarded as ones in which witchcraft operates. Possibly this is quoted as a wonderful incident.

admitted to having brought a human head with him and to having used flesh from it as a 'relish' to eat with his maize porridge on the very journey to Mpulumutsi! He had thrown it away just before arriving. Mpulumutsi warned these people that they should give up their evil practices. After that he gave them medicine to drink.

Those who, having been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicines, don't confess their witchcraft, or resume it after having confessed, are sure to die. Many die on the way home to their villages. No, I didn't see any dead people, but on the way there I saw a number of trees from which bark had been stripped in order to make coffins for those who had died by the way.

People don't have to pay anything: they simply receive treatment and medicine. Some bring castor oil and give it to Mpulumutsi for mixing with the medicine. Others don't bring anything. Why should they? Why should Mpulumutsi have a return for his work, seeing that God told him to do it?

A person on his return from being treated by Mpulumutsi should not touch his medicines but should get an untreated person to throw them away for him. They should be thrown away in water.

Mpulumutsi said nothing about beating a drum, but other people we met told us that he would beat a drum and all the witches would be forced by its sound to go to him and be caught.

This informant's motive in making the trip to Mpulumutsi was typical of those of other 'pilgrims' about whom I inquired. He was never well all the time I knew him, and frequently came to me for cough mixture. On returning to his village recently I found that he had died. He had been regarded as the most likely successor to the headman (his mother's brother), and had already begun helping him. He had rationalized his illness by saying that his mother's sister's daughter (classificatory sister) was practising witchcraft against him, and it had been to gain protection from her that he went to Mpulumutsi. The stresses of social structure that led to his believing this are readily revealed by the fact that his place as junior headman has now been taken by his alleged attacker's son, i.e. his mother's sister's daughter's son (classificatory sister's son).

Brief summaries of the cases of a few other people who went to Mpulumutsi reveal that they all had fairly strong personal motives for doing so:

J—— went because the wife he married in Nyasaland was obviously a witch, since she used to disappear at night, and more sinister still, she used to disappear while hoeing in the garden, her footprints coming to a sudden stop!

A—— (a woman) went to Mpulumutsi because she was barren. He told her it would have been better if her husband had come too, but treated her nevertheless. This led to her being divorced, because, since her husband had not been treated, it was impossible for him to continue living with her.

J—— had two children who died suddenly, and in the case of one of them, he consulted a diviner. (Cewa fathers don't usually do this in connexion with their own children, but, since J——'s wife had been brought from a distant village there was no mother's brother of the children available.) The diviner said the child had been bewitched by two women in the village but refused to name them (either this, or J—— was reluctant to tell me who they were). He said they should all avoid walking on a path leading from near J——'s hut into the bush because a medicine line had been drawn across it. Then J——'s wife became very ill and, to remove her from the dangers of witchcraft in the village, he took her to his

garden shelter where they lived for a month during which her condition improved sufficiently to enable him to leave her in the village (in another hut) while he went to Mpulumutsi for protective medicine for her. Shortly after his return he and his mother's brother found the medicine line and removed it. His wife has been well ever since his return.

G—— went 'to find out why he had a big garden but only a small grain-bin'. Mpulumutsi told him A—— was practising maize-sorcery¹ against him, and gave him some protective medicine for it. A—— then stopped his sorcery because he knew G—— had the medicine. (Unfortunately I have no record of the relationship between G and A.)

K—— had three of his cattle killed by hyenas in one day, so he went to ask Mpulumutsi about it. Mpulumutsi, without naming anyone, said the 'owner' (master) of the hyenas was jealous of K—— because of his numerous cattle. When K—— came back, no more hyenas came 'because that year [1947] people were afraid that Mpulumutsi's medicine was going to work'. The medicine that K—— was given had to be mixed with water which the cattle drank from a wooden trough.

Z—— went to work in South Africa long ago, and while there developed sores around his neck. On consulting Mpulumutsi he was told that the sores were the result of his mother's stealing mangoes from a garden that had been protected from theft with medicine (*cambo*), and he was given medicine to cure them. 'The sores are still with him.'

Many people told A—— he was a witch, so he went to Mpulumutsi to find out if this was true. Mpulumutsi said 'Surely you're a real witch!' so A—— came home, much ashamed.

We come now to a summary of the beliefs and rumours that were current during the second half of 1947. These are quite as important as any of the established facts about the movement, because they had a direct effect on village life, and because they often indicate how it was that the movement, through being integrated with the culture, came to have such a hold on people's imaginations. For convenience, items of this 'current mythology' of the Bwanali-Mpulumutsi movement may be classified according to whether they refer: to the origin of the leaders' powers; to what was believed to occur at headquarters; to the general function of the treatment; to the rules to be observed after treatment; to future developments of the movement; and to individual opinions regarding its general significance. Once again there is a confusion of rumour and personal experience, but this is difficult to avoid. The beliefs about Bwanali and about Mpulumutsi do not show any significant differences, and have therefore been lumped together.

Most informants believe that Bwanali and Mpulumutsi were very ill or died at the time of receiving their powers. We have statements such as this: 'Bonjisi was sick and went to Bwanali, the big one to the south-east.' Both men seem to have resisted the tendency of people to attribute to them a Christ-like resurrection. Note, for instance, Bwanali's statement to me (p. 102) or this one, 'Mpulumutsi denies that he is a God, and says he is just a man'. The following are more comprehensive stories of the origin of the powers of Bwanali and Mpulumutsi respectively:

Bwanali was very ill indeed. While he slept a person came and took him to a hill where there were many white fowls. He stayed there three days. While he was there the person who had brought him there gave him one of the fowls as they went out of their shelter, saying, 'This is your fowl. I want to see if you can recognize it among its fellows when they return to the shelter again to-night.' When the fowls returned that night, Bwanali was able to recognize the fowl that the person had given him. The person said, 'You are clever.

¹ *mfumba ya cimanga*, a practice by which other people's maize is enticed into the sorcerer's garden.

How about taking up the work of healing people?' Bwanali assented, and this person gave him the medicine and knowledge that he now uses.

After this Bwanali went to tell the Europeans about the things he had seen, and the Europeans did not believe him, and they tested him, saying 'O.K., if you are thus, it'll be very good if we throw our money into the water and you get it out again.' And they actually did this but Bwanali got all their money out. But then the Europeans arrested Bwanali and put him in jail; and there Bwanali prayed very much indeed to God. Hearing his prayers, God knocked down Zomba Mountain and in this manner many Europeans died,¹ and then the Europeans said, 'Now, O.K., you must go home and stay there.' That is the beginning of Bwanali.

Mpulumutsi died, so they left him in his hut and then took him to the graveyard, putting him down while they dug the grave. While they were digging, he 'woke up' and started shaking the reed mats in which he had been tied, saying 'Loosen me!' When they untied him, he said 'Ciuta [God] has chosen me to do some work. All the small children in heaven who have been killed by witches are complaining that they have died without lawsuits, so Ciuta has sent me to speak these cases.' As he got out of the reed mats a book [Bible] fell out and with it there was some medicine. This was the Bonjisi medicine. Mpulumutsi then announced that a bigger man called Ce Bwanali was doing similar work in Nyasaland. He went to see Ce Bwanali and he later came to Matenje. That is what we were told.

Descriptions of what occurs at the headquarters of either of the leaders range from straightforward reporting to what is probably sheer fantasy. It will be noted that it is only at headquarters that any kind of organization exists. In 1947 the movement had not reached (nor has it since reached) the degree of decentralization that characterized the Mcape movement. First some general impressions of what takes place at headquarters: 'There were many people at Mpulumutsi's. Before being treated we had to work on making a "compound" for accommodating all the people. We were not paid for this work. In the afternoon we were treated and given medicine to take home with us.' 'There are three overseers who take charge of the people who go to Mpulumutsi's compound, who supervise the work and who help with the administration of the medicine.' Next, a more imaginative statement of what happens: 'Bwanali reads out of his book [Bible] and people know immediately that they are witches and sit separately. After that they all go down to the reeds near the river. There some begin to vomit; others don't vomit; others, again, change into wild beasts. The ones who vomit are cleansed. After this the people cross the river, and those who have not confessed everything get severe headaches and come back again to Bwanali.' Another reference to the selective effect of crossing a river is mentioned in connexion with Mpulumutsi: 'Only *people* can cross the Mpomfi River: witches die before they get there. So the Mpomfi is the boundary.'

A few other references to confession include the following: 'You'll die if you don't first confess [your witchcraft]. If you do confess, Mpulumutsi gives you medicine and you bring up the human flesh that you've eaten.' 'When you are about to confess [to Mpulumutsi] you yourself may think that you can hide what you have to say, and go and say it to him during the night. But it is then that Mpulumutsi tells you, "You mustn't confess to me alone, but I want everyone to hear." While you are confessing,

¹ This is presumably a reference to the Zomba flood of December, 1946, when one European lost his life. There is no record of Bwanali's having been

in jail at this time—or at any other. (I am grateful to Mr. T. D. Thomson for this information.)

all the people laugh a great deal, and you feel very ashamed, so much so that you may weep there and then.¹ So if you have come to Mpulumutsi's and have seen another person confessing, and you yourself are a witch, now you'll be so afraid of being ashamed that you may actually run away. But if you've already been treated with the medicine, you'll not reach home without dying on the road—for the very reason that you have been treated.' 'One person who went to Mpulumutsi is said to have confessed to having slept with his daughter in order to make his maize grow.'²

The treatment given by Bwanali and Mpulumutsi is believed to have two functions, a protective one and a destructive one. In certain cases there is almost a suggestion that the attraction of the first function causes witches to undergo the treatment and expose themselves to the dangers inherent in the second one. The most succinct statement regarding the protective function of the treatment is the following: 'If a man has been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine he cannot die from witch-sent diseases but from God-sent diseases only. And it protects him from witch-sent animals; only those sent by God can kill him.'

The belief in the destructive function of the medicine implies that it has a selective effect similar to that of the poison ordeal: it spares the innocent and kills the witches. This belief is backed by the alleged instances of death, such as the following: 'Many people are dying as a result of failing to give up their old medicines after having been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine. This applies especially to people who practise maize-sorcery.' 'A man at C—— village died because he was a witch and had been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine.' 'Many people have died there [at Mpulumutsi's]—especially people from Nyasaland. There are three paths which have been closed because of the stench of people who have died, and now they have opened a new path.'

Beliefs regarding the rules one should observe after being treated vary from simple precautions to highly complex and difficult taboos. One of the simplest is: 'After being treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine you must not wash for three days—except just round your face.' Many injunctions refer to the necessity for throwing away old medicines or substances that may have been contaminated by them. For instance, 'You must have all [protective] medicines removed from your house before you go to Mpulumutsi or before re-entering your house on your return. Two people at C—— village have not been sleeping in their houses since their return from Mpulumutsi.' Or, 'If you have used sorcery for increasing your maize yield, and you are treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine, you must throw away all your maize or exchange it.' Or, again, 'If you have been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine you must throw away all horns.' Some statements refer to the dangers of contact, especially sexual, between treated and untreated persons: 'If you have been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicines, you must see to it that your relatives are done too. Your wife must be done, otherwise there'll be no marriage but death only.' 'If you want to have intercourse (or commit adultery) you must do this in a house—not on a hut verandah or in the bush. If you want to have intercourse in the bush, you must first build a little house.' Finally, there are warnings that sum up the whole Nyanja conception of the

¹ Cewa (or even Nyanja in general) seem to have a very strongly developed sense of shame or shyness (*manyanzi*). The 'you' in this statement is a translation of the Cewa *u-* which, strictly speaking, is in this context equivalent to the English 'one'.

² People are believed to commit incest with the object of increasing the potency of their medicines. This is regarded as reprehensible and is usually classed as *ufiti* (witchcraft or sorcery—between which Cewa makes no distinction).

good man, such as the following: 'If you have been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine, you must give up your witchcraft, and you must not steal, lose your temper, swear, be envious, damage other people's property or take vengeance.'

Most beliefs regarding the future developments to be expected from the movement comprised threats aimed at those witches who were clever enough to dodge their due punishment by failing to undergo treatment. For these 'clever ones' the following fates were predicted: 'Mpulumutsi's drum will be beaten—we don't know in what month. Those who are not witches will not hear it at all; but those who are, will hear it and will go to him carrying [human] flesh with them so that they can eat it on the way there.' '[Referring to Bwanali] Maria will beat a drum and the witches will go to the graveyards and die there.'

Individual opinions regarding the significance of the movement were not uniform in 1947 and since then have become increasingly sceptical. Differences among opinions recorded during the second half of 1947 are probably related to individual differences in preoccupation with witchcraft beliefs and in the extent to which people holding them remembered the outcome of the Mcape movement. The statements vary in tone from a naïvely optimistic enthusiasm to a more cautious, empirical outlook. In the impressed, optimistic category are: 'The whole country has been greatly shaken because of this man [Mpulumutsi].' 'Now this person, Mpulumutsi, I believe, will clear up our country very well indeed. All those who are witches are going to die, and the people will live in great peace. They will develop friendships, and evil will be a very rare thing.' 'If witches are not going to die by Mpulumutsi's medicines, that is to say there is no God in Heaven.' A more reserved opinion was that of a young Catholic who says, 'Now as far as I am concerned, I don't know whether Mpulumutsi is genuine or not. When I see with my own eyes [then I can decide]. I think he took his power from the devil.' About eight months later (June 1948) an informant (who from the beginning had tended to be sceptical, because, he said, he remembered about the Mcape movement) wrote me a letter replying to an inquiry I had made about the progress of the movement. He said 'But you ask me about Mpulumutsi. Well, all about Mpulumutsi is nonsense. People don't go there now. Why, those who went there long ago were saying that a person treated by Mpulumutsi wouldn't steal; but many steal. They were saying no more cheating (or seduction) but many are cheating. They were saying no more adultery; but many are committing adultery. And many people are troubled by constantly being ill; so Mpulumutsi's is just a "business" aimed at relieving people of their property. Now my younger brother went there three times to get medicine, yet he is one who steals, cheats, and is often getting sick. My sister T—— and her husband B—— have been treated, yet they are always sick. All about Mpulumutsi is a lie and a worthless trick.'

In January 1949, although occasional informants still maintained a wait-and-see attitude, the majority submitted to the logic of their empiricism. 'I have not been treated with Mpulumutsi's medicine because I think it is better to test it by seeing how it works on other people—just like people are doing in connexion with the co-operatives [started under the Development Plan].' 'People are still getting sick and are still practising witchcraft. Witches who were treated with Mpulumutsi's medicines have not died. This means that his medicines are worthless.' 'Mpulumutsi is useless and no one goes there now. After having had a big reputation, he is now

just not-there (*zi*). It was the same with Mcape. Both Mcape and Bonjisi did not announce their departure, but were suddenly just not-there.' 'No hyenas came [to eat cattle] because that year [1947] people [whose familiars they were] were afraid that Mpulumutsi's medicine was going to be effective and they stopped their witchcraft until they saw whether it would work. Now that they have seen that Mpulumutsi is useless, the hyenas have resumed eating the cattle.'

It is worth noting some reported effects of the movement, or of beliefs about it, on village life. Let us dispose, first of all, of some wonder-tales: 'Hyenas are dying in this country. Hyenas die when their masters are treated with Mpulumutsi's medicines. The crows have all disappeared, too. They've gone to Mpulumutsi's [to eat the corpses there].' 'At K—— village there was a man who had just returned from Mpulumutsi's with medicine. Another man asked him, "Now what's this you've got?" The owner replied, "It's medicine from Mpulumutsi." The man passed very disparaging remarks about the medicine, saying, "It's false medicine." And at that very moment he dropped dead!' 'At C—— village two men who are witches have returned from Mpulumutsi's. In the house of one of them people found a basket full of horns. In his granary they found the body of a child that had been dried in the fire, as well as human skulls which he had used for drinking beer out of. In his garden they found part of a human mouth. The horns have been thrown into the water, and now the water has been polluted by the medicines. If a snake drinks it, it'll die, and if a man washes his face in it he'll get leprosy.'

Then there are the summaries of two cases. The first was tried before a Northern Rhodesian Cewa village headman (who afterwards reported it to me); and the second, in Nyasaland, went as far as one of the Native Courts (which I happened to be attending the morning it was tried).

1. J——, who had just returned from Mpulumutsi's, was afraid to throw away his medicines. He told a child to throw them away in the stream. The child did this but died the following day. Now C—— complains that the medicines are in the water near his valley-garden. He is afraid of using the water, and thinks his children may die as a result of playing near his garden. The headman orders J——, the owner of the medicines, to remove them. J—— refuses because he is afraid of touching them. The headman suggests that the medicines must be those of witchcraft if they are too bad to touch. Faced with this challenge, J—— removes the medicines.

2. N—— states that he and his wife P—— had been quarrelling a great deal because of the death of their child [probably mutual accusations of witchcraft], and that P——'s brother M—— went to Bwanali and obtained medicine. On his return, he told P—— to go and tell her husband to be treated with the medicine. N——, the husband, refused to be treated because he was merely a son-in-law in their family [i.e. not a member of their matrilineage]. Had it been his own family, he said, it would have been in order for him to be treated, but it would certainly not have been correct for him to be treated by his brother-in-law. His wife P——, however, submitted to the treatment, thus making it impossible for him to continue living with her; because, if your spouse has been treated with this medicine and you have not, intercourse with her will be fatal. Because of his refusal to have anything to do with her, P—— is now asking to be divorced from him.

In reply to the Native Authority, P—— says that all her husband has said is true, but that she still wants him. In an attempt to patch up the quarrel, the Native Authority suggests that N—— should be treated with the medicine. N—— refuses emphatically, saying that

the medicine is very dangerous. The Native Authority rules that N——'s refusal to go on living with his wife is unreasonable. He grants her a divorce and orders N—— to pay her £2 and the court 10s.

It is interesting to record Bwanali's opinion regarding some of the rumours current about him and Mpulumutsi. I quote again from notes of my interview with him:

Regarding some of the rumours I asked him to comment on, Bwanali gave a tolerant smile and hinted that part of human fallibility is a tendency to exaggerate and spread false rumours. In particular, he said there was no truth in the notion that he gave people medicine to drink so that it would cause them to bring up parts of the human bodies they had eaten; nor in the idea that it was essential for a treated person on his return home to treat his wife and relatives; nor again in the widespread belief that it was necessary to throw away all medicines—it was only the evil ones that he told them to throw away.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO MOVEMENTS

The reader will have noticed a number of similarities between the Bwanali-Mpulumutsi and Mcape movements. Both movements started in Nyasaland and spread into adjoining territories. Both aimed at the complete removal of witchcraft from the country by the systematic destruction or reform of witches and by the protection of their potential victims. And the same beliefs have occurred in association with both: for instance, that the originator of the movement had died and been resurrected; that the medicine would lead to death in those who resumed their witchcraft; that on the 'second coming' or at some significant future date a drum would be beaten which would inexorably attract witches to their death; that Maria (Marya) would assist in the destruction of the witches; and that certain rules and taboos should be observed by persons who had been treated with the medicine.

The differences between the two movements may be due to the fact that the one has followed the other. The fate of the Mcape leaders may have influenced the policies of Bwanali and Mpulumutsi. In any case it is certain that differences in technique between the two movements are usually to be found in those activities to which European control might have been applied in the case of the Mcape movement. There were three ways in which the Mcape vendors threw themselves open to European control. Firstly, they made their patients drink medicines said to have divining properties. This was bound to evoke opposition from the Europeans since it so clearly resembled the *mwabvi* poison ordeal, which had been suppressed. Secondly, not necessarily by administering medicines, but by using mirrors and other devices, they made direct accusations of witchcraft. This again was bound to conflict with the requirements of European Administrations whose concern to keep the peace had made them declare accusations of witchcraft illegal. Finally, they sold medicines and charms, a step that rendered them liable to prosecution for fraudulent dealing.

The most significant differences between the Bwanali-Mpulumutsi and Mcape movements are in these three spheres. Firstly, the evidence suggests that, although it is not unknown for Bwanali and Mpulumutsi to administer medicines orally, they generally do this only after a confession has been made. Normally they apply the medicines to incisions made in the skin, a course of action that has no resemblance to the traditional poison ordeal. Secondly, judging from reports, they do not make a

practice of openly accusing people of witchcraft; listening to confessions of witchcraft can hardly be an offence. Thirdly, the available evidence suggests that they do not receive any payment for their work.

The effect of these main differences is to give the more recent movement the appearance of a religious revival rather than that of a commercial enterprise (which the Mcape movement so clearly resembled). Having no first-hand knowledge of the Mcape movement, and being rather impressed by the apparent sincerity of Bwanali and those who believe in him and in Mpulumutsi, I am unable to judge whether there is something more in the difference between the two movements than the three expedient, self-protective steps that seem to have been taken by the more recent witch-controllers. The Bwanali-Mpulumutsi movement has inherited many of the religious elements of the Mcape movement (see above, p. 100), and has added others as well, e.g. reading from the Bible, greater stress on the heaven-sent nature of the witch-finders' task, and frequent reference to moral precepts, many of which assert simply that witchcraft is 'not cricket'. These additional features may, of course, be sublimations and rationalizations of a less elevated attempt to defeat the ends of European justice. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the movement of 1947 as compared with that of the 1930s is basically more like a religious movement than a commercial 'racket'. Its emphasis on divine inspiration, the sharing of sins by confession, and back-to-God moral rearmament classes it with a religious revival rather than with the patent medicine trade.

Résumé

UN AUTRE MOUVEMENT MODERNE CONTRE LA SORCELLERIE DANS L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE ORIENTALE

Cet article décrit un mouvement qui a débuté au Nyasaland en 1947 et qui était associé avec deux hommes — Bwanali et Mpulumutse, qui prétendaient avoir mission divine d'extirper la sorcellerie. On leur attribuait la guérison de ceux qui souffraient de maladies ou d'afflictions causées par la sorcellerie et d'occasionner la mort de sorciers impénitents. M. Marwick discute les conséquences sociales de ce mouvement dont l'influence fut considérable au début, malgré qu'un certain scepticisme, quant à son authenticité, se faisait sentir plus tard; il le compare aussi à un mouvement assez similaire, signalé en 1935, et il suggère que le mouvement ultérieur avait plutôt la nature d'un renouveau religieux puisqu'il était accompagné de prédication et de lectures de la Bible et n'apportait aucun bénéfice financier aux dirigeants.

PRIVILEGED OBSTRUCTION OF MARRIAGE RITES AMONG THE GUSII¹

PHILIP MAYER

I

A SKETCH of two incidents recorded in my field notes will serve to introduce the subject of this paper.²

1. Nanyuki and his wife Mwango were completing their marriage by the *enyangi* ceremony. I was to see the second of the major sacrifices, which takes place at the husband's homestead. A day after the appointed time, Nanyuki informed me that everything was being held up. Mwango, he said, refused to go on unless he gave her a he-goat. He had tried all day in vain to get her one; none of his neighbours wanted to barter, and he could not afford money. I almost suspected a device for putting me off and preventing me from being present at the ceremony. Why should Nanyuki, who, I knew, was eager to get back to work in his swamp garden, allow his plans to be upset by Mwango's whim? However, his anxiety and exasperation seemed genuine enough; he told me that he could not think what to do, and would have to consult Kebaso, his dead father's brother.

I decided to go with Nanyuki as, conspicuous in his traditional wedding garments, he set out for Kebaso's homestead a mile away. The old man, emaciated by illness, was sitting outside his hut. 'Have you not sacrificed yet?' he greeted us. 'It is getting late.' 'She refuses to go on without a goat,' said Nanyuki. 'Can I sacrifice without her agreement?' 'No,' replied Kebaso, 'you must give her what she demands. She wants to send the skin to her mother. Yes, indeed you must pay the goat.' Nanyuki was desperate. 'I am blind (powerless) until she consents.'

2. Bogonko had invited me to the *enyangi* celebrations which he was holding for his daughter. The solemn ritual of the second day—the *echorwa*—was to begin soon after sunset: accordingly, by about 6.30 p.m. the elders of both families were assembled in the bride's mother's hut. The hours passed and found us still waiting for the bridegroom and his escorting procession to make their ceremonial entry. The elders grew restless; Bogonko's people commented on the delay to the guests from the bridegroom's place. It was nearly eleven when sounds from the darkness outside indicated that the young men had arrived at last.

'Now you will see how our girls can stop your young men and laugh at them', said the elders of Bogonko's family to their *abako* (in-laws). Dimly, by the light of a small fire outside the hut, one could see two parties of young people standing in the cattle pen; on the one side the bride—still in workaday clothes—with her five attendants and other girl friends, on the other the bridegroom with his groomsman and several other youths. Screaming and gesticulating, the girls let fly at the bridegroom a stream of obscene insults dwelling on his supposed sexual inadequacy; for this is one of the recognized 'indecent' periods in the marriage celebrations.

¹ A Bantu people of Western Kenya (South Nyanza), numbering about 200,000; called 'Kisii' by Kenya Europeans. My fieldwork, which covered some two years, was done between 1946 and 1949.

² This paper was read at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, on February 14th, 1950.

The noise outside went on and on; the elders began to raise their voices to drown it, embarrassed by hearing indecent words from the mouths of their classificatory children. After a quarter of an hour, a brother of the bride's father went out to tell his niece that it was now time to shave the bride and her attendants—the first rite of *echorwa*. But the request was ignored, and the screams continued. No better success attended a similar attempt by another uncle. 'She refuses to be shaved', they said.

Bogonko, the bride's father, is something of a martinet, and when he himself went out there was a moment's wavering. 'I will have no more of this. You can't go on all night. I have had enough.' But the chorus of obscenity broke out again, louder than ever. The marriage priest (*omogaka bw-enyangi*), who is otherwise absolute master of *enyangi* proceedings, now explained to me, not for the first time, that in this case even he could do nothing. 'When she agrees to be shaved, there will be an end; otherwise, it will continue.'

Ten minutes passed, and the shrieked obscenities went on. Then Bogonko called the bride's mother and both parents pleaded with the girl to allow herself to be shaved. This too seemed to be in vain, for we heard another and even wilder outburst. In the end, the girls calmed down of their own accord, and presently the bride with her companions came in through the visitors' door, passed between the crowd of elders, and disappeared behind the partition into the inner living-room. The bridegroom's party could now enter and the solemn ceremony begin at last.

On both these occasions a young woman by her obstinacy held up an important part of the *enyangi* proceedings; on both occasions, elders of standing—including the formidable marriage priest himself—shrugged their shoulders (as it were) while the girl had her fling. Moreover, on both occasions the woman successfully defied—on his own ground—the man to whom she owed the greatest obedience. For in one case the bride who defied her autocratic father still ranked as a 'girl' in his homestead (the *echorwa* rites had not yet been completed which would give her the full status of woman and wife); and in the other case Mwango defied at his homestead a husband who had just acquired by *echorwa* full and final authority over her.

In Gusii society, one does not normally expect to find girls flouting the authority of father or husband with the condonation of other elders. I came to the conclusion that a particular kind of situation, implying what may be called a female privilege of obstruction, recurs in one form or another at various stages in the *enyangi* ceremony. It involves certain other women as well as the bride, and also another group of persons who normally would be equally powerless—the children who act as minor functionaries in the course of the *enyangi*.

I propose to give an account of the various forms of privileged obstruction that may occur during an *enyangi*, and shall then consider their nature and function. First of all, however, it must be briefly indicated what the Gusii *enyangi* is, since it is important to note that this is the only occasion which is regularly associated with this special form of behaviour.

II

Enyangi may be described as the most important Gusii ceremony. More exactly, it is not one but a series of ceremonies, attended by a far greater weight of minutely detailed observance than any other in Gusii culture. Here I can only sketch the procedure in bare outline.

The bride (who may or may not be a wife and mother of many years' standing) returns to her father's homestead for the occasion. The first evening, *egetaorio*, extends into an all-night feast for the young people of both sides. On the following day begins the second part, called *echorwa*—also an all-night affair—which, by contrast, consists of solemn ritual performed behind closed doors, including the sacrifice of what is specifically called the *enyangi* goat. On the third morning the couple return to the husband's homestead, where other rites must be performed—notably the sacrifice of a second goat, the fastening of the first links of the marriage ankle-rings, and the renaming of the bride by her married name. It is in connexion with *echorwa*, and with the rites at the husband's homestead, that privileged obstruction occurs.

Enyangi completes a marriage. Marriages are legitimized in the first place by a bridewealth transaction. Many Gusii marriages never get beyond this stage. We might say, however, that while bridewealth emphasizes the status of father (by assigning paternal rights), it is *enyangi* that emphasizes the status of husband. Before *enyangi* the jural act of returning the bridewealth is enough to annul a marriage and restore the status quo. It is a far more serious affair to 'cut the marriage rings', i.e. to break up a marriage after *enyangi*. The wife's father cannot now lawfully order her back into his own homestead in case of dispute; the wife herself is faced with powerful new mystical sanctions if she should leave her husband and re-marry, or even if she commits adultery. *Enyangi*, with its solemn ritual conducted by a special priest, thus adds the religious and mystical element to the marriage tie. It forges a new personal bond between two individuals, over and above the bridewealth tie, which is more specially concerned with maintaining a balance between their respective lineages.

Besides emphasizing the substitution of husband's for father's authority, and the transition from one set of lineage allegiances to another,¹ *enyangi* marks the entry into a new stage of life: in this aspect it follows on a series of earlier *rites de passage* of which the most important is circumcision. A woman of any age who has not made *enyangi* is technically a 'girl'. She is distinguishable in everyday life by not having the marriage ankle-rings or one of the special *enyangi* names. Such a woman cannot pass to any higher religious or quasi-religious status—cannot for instance be initiated as a female circumciser, or a diviner, or a marriage priestess (*omokundikane*). Similar rules apply to men who have not made *enyangi*.

III

The privilege of obstruction during *enyangi* can be described in terms of definite rules. The persons who may obstruct, and the manner and purpose of the obstruction, are all defined. That is to say, there is no general privilege that can be exercised at anybody's whim. These permissible obstructions are by no means all of one pattern. The purpose of some is to extort a gift or a payment; others are rather demonstrations on the theme of consent. But the distinctive technique is basically the same in all cases, and consists in threatening to 'spoil'² the *enyangi* by interfering with the prescribed ritual. The tactics vary according to whether the obstructor is an actor in the ceremony or an outsider who puts in an appearance for this specific purpose.

¹ Cf. my paper on *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*, International African Institute Memorandum XXIV, 1949.

² Cf. p. 121 below.

I shall first describe the cases in which the theme of consent is the main one. The most impressive of these occur at the points in the ceremony when the bride is expected to signify consent by a symbolic act—‘to show that she loves her husband’, as the Gusii put it.

Early in *echorwa* night, the bride will first of all refuse to be dressed in her ceremonial costume; then she will linger over her toilette until everyone’s impatience is aroused. Then comes her most characteristic obstruction—repeated postponement of the first great moment of ‘showing her love’, when she must step out of the inner living-room (to which the women are otherwise confined during the ceremony), pass between the elders, hand to the bridegroom a calabash, and receive from him on her open palm a piece of stiff porridge. Again the following morning, the bride will at first refuse to kiss the loving-cup (*egesingero*), which is passed from one person to another under the direction of the marriage priest. Only after long delay will she consent to take it, as she ought, from her husband’s hand. (‘And you said she did not love him!’ cried a delighted friend of the bridegroom’s at this point during the *enyangi* of Bogonko’s daughter.)

I have already described how the bride at her first meeting with her husband on *echorwa* night makes as if to withhold her consent, barring his entrance and pouring out obscene insults. On the parallel occasion (usually two days later) when the bride arrives at her husband’s homestead for the naming ceremony, her ordeal is quite as severe. Her husband’s mother, and other women of the place, will accuse her of all kinds of wickedness: for instance, of laziness or of disrespect towards her mother-in-law—two qualities that make a girl specially undesirable as an inmate of the homestead. At Nanyuki’s *enyangi* the entry of Mwango was delayed for nearly two hours, the girl standing all the time in darkness outside the hut of her mother-in-law; the old woman did not relent even when rain and cold wind swept across the place.

Obstruction of the entry of bride or bridegroom may take more complex forms. At Bogonko’s homestead, for instance, the bride and her friends put off bathing in the river: this was meant to hold up the bridegroom, for the girls may not enter the hut without having bathed, and the bridegroom may not enter unless they have preceded him. Simultaneously, in order to obstruct (as it were) this obstruction on the part of the girls, the bridegroom’s party had decided that their procession should purposely arrive very late. Again, at Nanyuki’s *enyangi*, friends of the bride tried to hold her up on the road to her husband’s home, so as to shorten her coming ordeal. But the women lying in wait there had planned a counter-obstruction: in order that the couple might be held up for as long as possible outside the hut, they hid the little girl (the *omotang’ani*) who has to relieve the bridegroom of his spear before they may enter.

Gusii clearly recognize the parallelism of these two occasions—the delaying first of the bridegroom and then of the bride at the homesteads of their respective in-laws. ‘Let her trouble us to-night,’ said an elder of the bridegroom’s family when the bride refused to admit him, ‘but when she comes to our place we shall see to it.’

IV

We may distinguish three categories of gifts that can be extorted by obstruction, all of them during the solemn *echorwa* part of the ceremony at the homestead of the

bride's parents. These are (i) special gifts due to certain kinswomen on the occasion of *enyangi*; (ii) settlement of old, outstanding claims which may have no particular connexion with *enyangi*; (iii) payments due to minor functionaries for their services during the ceremony.

The first category includes a gift to the bride's maternal grandmother; one to the bride's elder sister; and one to that sister of the bridegroom whose marriage provided him with bridewealth. Each of these women is entitled to receive a goat from the bride's father. These payments are clearly defined and have specific vernacular names—*embori ya ng'inakoro* (grandmother's goat), *embori ya mosubati* (sister's goat).

The form of obstruction permitted to the grandmother and to the bridegroom's sister, in order to make sure of their gifts, is to interrupt the *enyangi* sacrifice¹ by placing a hand on the neck of the sacrificial goat when it is led into the cattle pen to be stifled. The bride's sister does not herself use any method of obstruction; but the bride may do so on her behalf, or the sister may wait to claim her goat from the bridegroom at his homestead after *enyangi* is over.

In all these cases a reciprocal acknowledgement of the gift is expected. A woman who wants to claim the goat due to her as grandmother or sister must bring a handsome gift of beer (*ebitoro*, 'help') as a contribution to the *enyangi* entertainment. This, however, is merely what the Gusii call 'thanks', and does not by any means represent an exchange of equal values.

Rather different is the procedure in the case of the second category—obstructing an *enyangi* in the interest of old claims which have no immediate connexion with it. Again, three women may be involved: the bride's mother, the bridegroom's mother, and the bride herself. Unlike the first category of kinswomen, they all play an important part in the ceremonial proceedings, and can thus exert pressure simply by refusing to do what is expected.

The bride's mother may use obstruction to extort the goat (or heifer) 'of heat', which is considered to be due to her either from the bridegroom directly, or from the bride's father after he has received the bridewealth. This gift is often paid over at a much earlier stage of the marriage, or it may be peacefully secured at the *egekwano* (discussion and settlement of outstanding bridewealth claims) which always precedes an *enyangi*. But if it is still outstanding at the time of the ceremony, the mother will demand it from the bridegroom on *echorwa* night and threaten to withhold the supply of hot water for making up the guests' beer. In an extreme case she may even refuse the water for filling the two sacred beer pots (*enkuruma* and *enseka*) which figure prominently in the ceremony.

The bridegroom's mother, in the second place, may be entitled to receive from her daughter-in-law a placation gift (on account of some past breach of decorum) which the girl ought to have brought from her parental homestead. Her method of obstruction is to refuse to anoint the bride during the last part of *enyangi*, which takes place at the husband's homestead.

Thirdly, the bride herself—who is obviously in the strongest position to hold up *enyangi* proceedings—may choose to extort by obstruction one of the many gifts that bridegrooms can bestow in the earlier stages of marriage. In the example already quoted on page 113, Mwango said that she was actually demanding an *egetcha maina*

¹ Cf. p. 115 above.

goat ('goat of hardening the teeth') which Nanyuki had promised her during their 'honeymoon' period (*egechabero*).

It may be noted that only in the last case is the obstruction directly exercised against the person who will have to provide the gift. The bride's mother demands a goat from her son-in-law, though she is in fact more likely to force it out of her husband thereby; the bridegroom's mother directs her pressure against the bride, in order to obtain an animal from the girl's father.

V

I mentioned, lastly, that obstruction may be employed by certain minor functionaries to make sure of the recognized payment for their ceremonial services.

Two of these functionaries are girls who have not yet been circumcised. One, called *omoimari*, belongs to the bride's side; her function is to represent an *omokundikane*—the marriage priestess who ought properly to assist the priest at *enyangi*. (A real *omokundikane*—rarely found to-day—is a woman past childbearing who is married to a marriage priest and has been initiated together with him.) The other girl comes from the bridegroom's side: she is the 'leader' (*omotang'ani*), whose duties include helping the father of the bridegroom to dress him in his ceremonial garments, leading his procession to the bride's place during *echorwa*, and sleeping between the couple for three nights on their return home.

The *omoimari*'s proper reward is a share of the hindquarters of the *enyangi* goat (sacrificed during *echorwa*) placed on a basket of flour with a cupful of grain, and claimed by the child on the following morning. At Bogonko's place, on the morning after his daughter's *echorwa*, this child repeatedly refused to perform her ritual duty of sprinkling the doors, demanding more flour until eventually the basket was heaped up to capacity. (This ritual sprinkling must be done before the couple can leave for the bridegroom's homestead.) The *omotang'ani*, similarly, claims a portion of the rump of the goat sacrificed at the husband's homestead later in the *enyangi*. At Nanyuki's *enyangi* I saw the *omotang'ani* force him to increase her portion by refusing to join in the rite of leading a he-goat four times around the bride.

A second symmetrical pair of functionaries consists of the chief bridesmaid (*omochiborere*)—a marriageable girl-friend of the bride, who assists her in various capacities—and the groomsman (*omong'wansi*) a young man—preferably married—who is at the bridegroom's side during all the main parts of the ceremony. Both of these fulfil numerous duties which I need not detail here; each is entitled to payment, which used to consist of rings or coils, but now takes the form of money. Each eventually obtains it, not from his or her own principal, but from the other side—the bridesmaid from the bridegroom, the groomsman from the bride's parents; but in both cases the bride herself acts as intermediary. Thus the groomsman refuses to eat at the bride's parental home during *echorwa* until he receives his money from the hand of the bride, who has usually obtained it beforehand from her parents. The bridesmaid obtains her payment later on, at the husband's homestead, taking it from the hand of the bride, who in turn has received it—through the groomsman—from the bridegroom; until this payment is made, the bride herself obstructs the proceedings on behalf of her friend.

Usually the most active of the young blackmailers is the 'boy of the *chintere*' (the

tubular iron pieces which are linked together over strips of leather to form the marriage ankle-ring). He is an uncircumcised boy chosen by the bridegroom, and is especially prominent in the journeyings to and fro between the two homesteads. During the journey home on the morning after *echorwa*, he bars the path with the stick which is one of the ritual objects he carries, and extorts from the bride a gift of money (formerly metal rings). As the procession nears the husband's homestead, the child becomes more and more insistent. After a time he may be thwarted if the bride can wrest the stick out of his hands. But later on he can still blackmail by refusing to eat his due portion of the share of the sacrificial meat which he has earlier carried to the bride's parental home; or he can refuse to take part in one of the final rites, in which he has to stir a cooking-pot together with the bride. In both cases it is the bride from whose hand he takes his payment.

I may mention that at Bogonko's homestead, on *egetaorio* night, I saw similar tactics employed by the young women visitors from the bridegroom's place. For over half an hour they remained lined up on a knoll outside the homestead, refusing to begin the formal dancing competition until beer was brought out to them.

VI

It will be clear that the acts of obstruction which I have described are in no sense unforeseen hitches in the ceremony, but are normally expected to take place. We might therefore conclude that the apparent conflicts are merely for form's sake and involve no more than bluff or play-acting. This would be incorrect. The underlying tension is always a real one—so much so that the outcome of the struggle is not always beyond doubt.

Let us consider, for instance, the displays of personal hostility against bride and bridegroom at the homestead entrance. My experience is that these always express genuine criticism. It is only the manner of expression which is abnormally unrestrained. I have referred to the abuse hurled at the husband of Bogonko's daughter, which referred to his supposed lack of virility. This bridegroom was in fact an insignificant-looking lad of fourteen who had been circumcised only a year previously and was physically overshadowed by his buxom seventeen-year-old wife. Gusii do not favour marriages between comparatively immature boys and older women, so that the bride's friends were voicing an objection which was probably felt in some degree by everybody present. Similarly, in my second example, the theme of 'disrespect' could be explained by a long history of personal friction between Mwango and her mother-in-law. A placation gift was still due on account of the latest breach of decorum, and the old woman's resentment was so strong that she refused to pronounce a blessing when anointing Mwango at a later stage of the ceremony.

Because of the element of genuine feeling they contain, the insults hurt the victims and embarrass their comrades. At Bogonko's place the little bridegroom was visibly near to tears; at Nanyuki's the overwrought bride ran out of the hut crying that she would go back to her parents.

Though it is rare indeed for the obstruction to lengthen into an absolute refusal, this is a possibility that has to be reckoned with. I heard of at least one case in which the husband's mother kept the bride outside her hut for so long that the girl at last gave up and returned to her father's village. Recently, too, Kerubo, who was being

married to a middle-aged polygynist named Ometo, prolonged her refusal to dress in the ceremonial robes until it became clear that she really did not intend to hand him the calabash which signifies consent. It was well known that she had previously run away from Ometo to a younger lover, and that her father had hurried on the *enyangi* in an attempt to prevent the marriage from breaking up (which would have been inconvenient for bridewealth reasons). At first the father and brother tried to coerce the girl, but this was forbidden by the marriage priest, who ordered Ometo to go home, take off his wedding clothes, and sacrifice a white he-goat. Kerubo went back to her lover; the episode is locally celebrated in a popular song—

The hard wood (i.e. girl who rejects suitors) has refused to marry;

The marriage headdress (*ekiore*) has fallen, has fallen at Nyaberi's (her father's) cattle-pen. . . .

When the obstructive act is one aimed at extorting a payment or gift, the underlying tension is no less real. Gusii do not enjoy giving anything away, and will make repeated efforts to avoid meeting the most undeniable of obligations—hence the volume of debt cases and appeals that has won them the name of the most litigious people in Kenya. Nor is display for its own sake at all common in their culture. The reluctance to hand over the animals due to kinswomen at *enyangi* is unconcealed; a woman is most unlikely to get anything unless she appears in person to enforce her claim. While sitting with the elders at the *enyangi* of Bogonko's daughter I heard shouts outside just after Bogonko called for the sacrificial goat to be led into the cattle pen: 'Gombo's wife (the bridegroom's sister) has stopped those who want to kill the goat.' The marriage priest went out to her. 'You will get it, I am witness that this elder (Bogonko) owes it.' Bogonko called for silence and ordered the sacrifice to proceed. But again the woman broke in angrily—'You are deceiving me! I want my goat.' 'It is arranged,' said Bogonko, 'she is going to get the mother of this kid.' Despite the remonstrances of the marriage priest, a noisy discussion then broke out among the women in and around the hut, in which the elders joined. After some suspense, word came at last that 'The goat has been given to the sister!'

VII

Since it is clear that acts of privileged obstruction arouse real and not merely feigned displeasure or resistance, we have to ask what is the source of their coercive power; how it comes about that women and children can successfully withstand the orders of husbands and fathers, and of the marriage priest himself. There is no general abatement of authority during *enyangi*, and women do not otherwise try to raise their voices against the elders. Moreover, the person confronted by privileged obstruction often submits with a thoroughly bad grace, clearly suggesting that he feels himself to have been forced.

The sources of this coercive force seem to be twofold: first, an association with the magic of *enyangi*, and secondly, the pressure of public opinion.

When, for instance, the bride's maternal grandmother or the bridegroom's sister lays a hand on the neck of the sacrificial goat, something more than a mere physical obstruction to the sacrifice is involved. Gusii elders who were trying to explain this act to me compared it with that of laying hold of a woman's breasts, which puts a

curse on her fertility. Putting the hand on the neck of the goat (they say) threatens to 'spoil' the *enyangi*, so that it 'will bring no blessing'. To proceed with a 'spoilt' *enyangi* is not only useless but dangerous. The celebrations must be broken off, and a special cleansing sacrifice be made before starting all over again—an inconvenient and costly procedure.

The phrase 'to spoil the *enyangi*' has in fact a definite technical connotation. One thing which spoils an *enyangi* is any departure from the prescribed ritual order, such as a bride's refusal to 'show her love'. Another is refusal to eat the sacrificial meat, as is sometimes threatened by the *chintere* boy. But what we have specially to notice here is the ban on physical violence during *enyangi*. Any shedding of blood, however slight, spoils the ceremony. Hence, physical coercion of a person whose obstruction threatens to spoil *enyangi* would be worse than useless, and might well defeat its own end. Gusii are easily moved to blows, particularly on occasions when beer has been flowing freely, and to ensure that order is preserved the visiting party have to bring with them to *echorwa* a special 'watcher' (*omorendi*) whose task it is to restrain his friends if they should become quarrelsome.

I mentioned as a second factor that of public opinion. This derives from the presence throughout *enyangi* of a company of guests which usually includes the most important elders from both sides. Witnesses of all that passes, the guests automatically take up the position of informal arbitrators. With their approval, if there is any doubt as to the justice of a claim, the person trying to enforce it by obstruction may be turned away. Keraria came to her brother's *enyangi* and claimed the 'sister's goat' in the correct manner—just before the sacrifice of the *enyangi* goat—but was shouted down. 'You have stolen, you have given nothing!' people called out to her. For instead of benefiting her brother by her marriage, she had deserted her husband and thus involved her kinsmen in a case for return of cattle. Again, at Nanyuki's *enyangi*, guests reproved the little *omoimari* girl who had begun to press for reward at an inappropriate moment. 'You will get your pay, but not now. Don't disturb us.'

On the other hand, if the claim is incontestable and correctly put forward, the elders may be heard informally backing up the claimant. 'Let her speak', someone will say; or they will nod to one another: 'Without doubt, the sister has to get her goat.' Indeed, though the participation of the audience is informal, there may be very much of the atmosphere of a case-hearing such as takes place before Gusii *etureti* elders (local arbitrators).

Thus the company of guests, as an informal arbitrating body, not only scrutinizes the justice and extent of the claim, but must also lend its moral support if the claimant's act of self-help is to be effective. Their opinion has also to be reckoned with if the bride should be reluctant to 'show her love'. Although the woman's consent is not indispensable to Gusii marriage in a strictly legal aspect, absolute forcing of a daughter's hand is considered wrong as well as inexpedient. In the early stages of betrothal and marriage a girl is given specific opportunities for rejecting her suitor—a rejection sanctioned not by legal force but by public sympathy, which those in authority over her do not often care to defy. The appearance (at least) of free consent is particularly important at *enyangi*, which ties the final knot and emphasizes the personal bond.

VIII

The fact that at *enyangi* women by a kind of self-help may extort a gift of property undoubtedly represents a deviation from the Gusii norm. According to Gusii law, women are both rightless and powerless. Moreover, the objects extorted by women at *enyangi*—livestock and money—are typical objects of *esira* ('debt'), and elders explicitly maintain that *esira* can exist only between men.

But it would be misleading to say that at *enyangi* women temporarily assume what are usually male prerogatives. Though the objects of the claims are typical *esira* objects, the nature of the claims differs from *esira* in several respects. For the same reason we cannot properly call the gifts to kinswomen a form of bridewealth distribution, since bridewealth claims come into the category of *esira*. For instance, unlike bridewealth claims and other true *esira*, these claims are personal, not heritable. Should the grandmother or the sister not be alive, the claim does not continue to be vested in her 'house' but lapses entirely. Nor are the gift animals subject to the same rules of replacement or return as are ordinary bridewealth animals. It may be added that the claims are not actionable before elders in any of the ordinary ways—neither at *etureti* hearings (cf. p. 121) nor in the Native Tribunals.

What actually emerges is a separate system of feminine claims and sanctions, distinct from though associated with the masculine system of bridewealth. While a man's claims are vested in the agnatic lineage (and are therefore heritable), a woman's arise out of uterine kinship and die with the kinswoman. Where the man's system is jural-political, the woman's is explained in terms of emotional ties. Gusii say that the gifts are due on account of 'love'. The grandmother is said to be entitled to a goat for the love she has earned 'because she played with the bride, and fed her when mother was ill'. The bride's sister is to have a gift 'because she was like another mother to the bride'; the bridegroom's sister, 'because she is the sister he loves best—she brought him her cattle to marry with'.

Rather than saying that women at *enyangi* have a quasi-masculine status, we might say that their normal female privileges are temporarily enhanced. At *enyangi*, women—and also children—can exert to the full the power of the jurally and physically powerless. They can obtain 'for love' what they could not get as a right, and enforce their claims not by physical aggression but by the feminine weapons of withholding or causing inconvenience, here institutionalized and given extra point.

IX

What conclusions are we to draw from the fact that this special obstructive technique is associated exclusively with *enyangi*? It appears to me that all the obstructive acts reflect in one way or another the meaning of the ceremony, and have important functions in connexion with it.

In the long-drawn-out *enyangi* these obstructive acts are dramatic highlights. They are in fact far more exciting than a nominal ritual climax such as the sacrifice of the *enyangi* goat. One has only to be present to appreciate the tense atmosphere generated by the tantalizing delays of the bride 'showing her love'—or, on a smaller scale, by the haggling over one of the customary gifts—and the joyful outburst of relief when the incident is successfully concluded. Not unnaturally, people seem to be on edge

after a series of such delays and arguments. At Nanyuki's *enyangi*, for instance, cheerful pleasantries were exchanged over the *chintere* boy's extortion of his pay, but when only a few minutes later the topic of the mother's goat came up, good humour had worn thin and sharp recriminations broke out.

The peculiar emotional charge of these incidents reflects the tenseness of ambivalent situations. In each case there is enacted a struggle between affection and animosity, or between gratitude and dislike of giving. The bride—we believe—will eventually 'show her love' for her husband; but before she will even allow him into the house we must watch her giving full vent to all her hostile feelings, and before she will hand him the symbols of consent she must endlessly tantalize and provoke him. The various kinswomen, no doubt, will eventually obtain their gift 'for love's sake', but not until they have battled with the donor's natural reluctance. The functionaries claiming their reward are in much the same position. The suspense of the audience, awaiting the final resolution, is heightened by the possibility—real though remote—that after all the hostile feelings may prevail.

I would suggest that the primary function of these obstructive acts is to provide a means of emotional release in explosive ambivalent situations, and if this is realized the exclusive association of such actions with *enyangi* will be more readily understood.

We may consider first of all the ambivalent relationship between the two groups of affines. This is something of which Gusii themselves in their everyday life are very well aware. In their society it takes on a particularly self-evident form, since the exogamous clan (*eamate*) is also the chief unit of political and military organization. Thus—as the Gusii saying goes—'those whom we marry are those whom we fight'. Much conscious effort (especially a regular exchange of visits and gifts) is directed towards smoothing over relations between families linked by marriage. To mention only one point, the maintenance of friendly relations is essential for the peaceful settlement of bridewealth claims, which may continue to arise out of the original transaction for a generation or two afterwards.

The structure of the *enyangi* ceremony reflects on the one hand the idea of inter-affinal hostility, and on the other the desire to overlay this with the friendly relationship proper to families now linked by the marriage tie in its most binding form. *Enyangi* opens with formal contests between the two groups of affines—a wrestling match for the men and a dancing competition for the women. Afterwards, a strictly obligatory seating arrangement separates bride's from groom's people, who must face each other across the space occupied by the sacred beer pots—the groom's party under the surveillance of the 'watcher' whose special task is to avert quarrels. The marked symmetry of rites and entertainments, on the other hand, suggests the effort that is being made to cement friendship. The order of *enyangi* prescribes that feasts and sacrifices are held alternately at the two homesteads; that portions of sacrificial and other meat are exchanged; small formal processions are constantly coming and going, and objects of religious significance carried to and fro.

Among the kinds of obstruction that I have described, those that most obviously reflect the inter-affinal tension are of course the displays of personal hostility against bride and bridegroom. Gusii themselves, in discussing the proceedings with me, formulated the idea of 'indecent to end indecent' or 'hostility to end hostility'—

a special temporary release from the rules of *nsoni* (respect) which must afterwards be observed more scrupulously than ever.

Squabbles between the affines may also occur when the functionaries are claiming their payments. The *chintere* boy in particular can easily be used as a tool to extort money from the other side. At Nanyuki's place I heard some of the adult relatives prompting the child that he must on no account come home again without a handsome sum.

However, the tension between the affines is not the only one we have to consider. Similar conflicts of affection and animosity tend to arise between bride or bridegroom and those nearest kinfolk whose changing relationship to them is emphasized by the *enyangi*. When Bogonko's daughter seemed deaf to all her father's requests and would not don her ceremonial dress, an elder said to me: 'She refuses because she wants to see how much her father loves her. She wants him to beseech her and call her tender names, because to-morrow she will leave him.' When Nanyuki's mother refused to anoint the bride unless she would bring the placation gift, her unkindness to the young woman eventually drew Nanyuki himself (much against his will) into the conflict. A sharp quarrel then arose between mother and son—the latter taking sides with his wife—and was only with difficulty patched up when the mother at last consented to do the anointing.

I have referred to the formal ban on violence, which would 'spoil' the rites. Over and above this, one notices during *enyangi* an extreme politeness and determined cordiality between the senior men of both bride's and bridegroom's side. It was vividly illustrated to me when Bogonko's *abako* brought him an old cow to slaughter at *egetaorio*, although—as every child knows—it ought to have been a bull. Bogonko and his people considered this a serious slight, and did not hide their anger from me. Long private consultations took place between Bogonko and the bridegroom's father. In the end Bogonko had to acquiesce; his people afterwards gave out that they had been highly satisfied with the tastiness of the meat. To have rejected the beast would have threatened a quarrel which might have upset the whole *enyangi*.

Rudeness, on the other hand, is the women's monopoly: the bride and her girl friends (as we have seen) humiliate and insult the bridegroom; it is women too—not men—who mete out similar treatment to the bride later on, although in accordance with the symmetrical pattern of *enyangi* one would rather have expected this to come from the male friends of the bridegroom.¹ What happens, then, is that the provocative part is left to the women. Between men, behaviour that is haggling or insulting or quarrelsome is likely to lead to brawls; and between men of different exogamous clans (as *abako* must be) brawls may result in more serious conflicts. Women's quarrels, on the other hand, should not be taken too seriously. Women, say the Gusii, 'talk like children' and must be allowed a certain licence. A man cannot fight them; nor do their antics—since they are not full political beings—oblige the menfolk of their lineage to engage in their battles. Thus at *enyangi* they can safely vent that hostility to which men dare not give expression. The men, whatever their private sympathies, can remain outwardly impartial, and their common amusement at the performances of their womenfolk seems even to draw them closer together.

¹ The principle that there should be no direct opposition between men is maintained even in the single case when obstruction is permitted to a man

—the claiming of his reward by the groomsman. Here, as we have seen, the bride acts as intermediary between him and her parents.

Thus the function of the obstructive acts—that of providing a comparatively harmless outlet for potentially explosive feelings—is bound up with the fact that the actors are women or children. Not only can they provoke with impunity, but nobody can more effectively resolve the tension by ‘show of love’.

It may be asked how the behaviour of women at the *enyangi* ceremony can be reconciled with the general status of Gusii women.

Enyangi is the only ceremonial occasion at which the usual separation between men’s and women’s activities is waived. There are other ceremonies—notably circumcision—in which either sex plays a leading part, but no other in which the celebration is actually a joint one. At *enyangi* the hero and heroine of the day figure with all but equal prominence in all the main rites performed: so also—in theory at least—do the male priest and his companion priestess. This ceremonial equality of the sexes is in keeping with the underlying meaning of *enyangi*. Since as a stage of marriage *enyangi* emphasizes the personal bond between a certain man and a certain woman, the goodwill of the two partners has to be reckoned equally important. As a *rite de passage*, it uniquely serves to punctuate at one and the same time a male and a female life, both husband and wife being elevated to a new status. *Enyangi*, then, dealing with a sphere of life in which women are considered different from rather than inferior to men, and emphasizing emotional rather than jural relationships, is an appropriate setting for acts of unusual self-assertion by women.

Résumé

OBSTRUCTION PRIVILÉGIÉE DES CÉRÉMONIES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES GUSII

CET article donne quelques exemples de procédés d’obstruction qui entravent, à divers points, le cérémonial compliqué de mariage chez les Gusii. Les actes d’obstruction sont exécutés par la mariée et par d’autres femmes et enfants qui participent à la cérémonie, mais jamais par les hommes. Leur motif est la répugnance de la part de la mariée, et l’extorsion de cadeaux et de paiements du marié et de ses parents. Des actes d’obstruction sont attendus en ces occasions et se conforment à un modèle bien déterminé. L’auteur croit, cependant, que cette façon d’agir n’est pas purement conventionnelle, mais exprime un véritable conflit d’émotions et constitue, en effet, un moyen reconnu et approuvé socialement de donner une issue anodine aux sentiments qui pourraient autrement susciter des querelles qui porteraient atteinte au mariage et aux rapports harmonieux des deux groupes de gens apparentés qui y sont concernés.

UN GNOMON SOUDANAIS

D. ZAHAN

JUSQU'À une date très récente l'usage du gnomon chez les Bambara du Soudan français était, on peut dire, général. Il se trouvait presque sans exception dans tous les villages des *masa* dont les attributions et le rôle dans la société bambara, malgré des travaux importants consacrés à cette ethnie, sont loin d'être exactement connus.¹ Actuellement, l'influence musulmane, comme aussi le contact avec notre civilisation, ont fait disparaître l'emploi de cet instrument astronomique; les vieux Bambara n'en parlent plus que comme d'une chose du passé. Mais la mémoire des informateurs très divers est vive à son endroit, et, sans rien vouloir exagérer, il semblerait qu'il s'agisse là d'un des plus vieux et des plus authentiques édifices de la civilisation Noire.²

Le gnomon soudanais est constitué par un réservoir à graines dont la forme et l'aspect extérieurs sont ceux de tout grenier bambara: bâtiment rond, en séko, pourvu d'une toiture conique. Cependant, à cause de son affectation spéciale, comme gardien du temps, il est confectionné selon des mesures précises et est recouvert de dessins ayant trait à son rôle d'instrument astronomique. Son nom est des plus simples: *wati dyati dyginye* (litt., temps compter grenier), ou encore: *masa dyginye* (grenier du *masa*), parce qu'il était en quelque sorte un attribut des *masa*.³

La technique d'érection du gnomon est pleine de précautions arithmétiques et géométriques; sa hauteur surtout est très exactement calculée.⁴ Le séko destiné à former le 'ventre' de ce grenier doit mesurer vingt-sept pieds en longueur;⁵ sa largeur, de douze croisées (*labo*), correspond à la hauteur du 'ventre' du grenier, c'est-à-dire à cinq coudées et demie.⁶ Au moment où le séko est mis en cylindre on s'assure que son diamètre ait quatre coudées.⁷ A cet effet on mesure deux diamètres perpendiculaires l'un sur l'autre, chacun devant avoir quatre coudées; les deux extrémités du séko sont alors placées bord à bord et tressées ensemble, donnant ainsi l'aspect d'une pièce sans coutures. Le séko est ensuite posé sur un petit tertre damé. Cette élévation de terre a été au préalable soigneusement mesurée et orientée. Sa forme est carrée, chaque côté ayant quatre coudées, et sa hauteur est d'un empan (*sibiri*), environ vingt-cinq centimètres. Les quatre côtés du tertre font chacun face à un point cardinal, et dans chaque angle du carré on enfouit vingt-deux pierres; on en met également vingt-deux au centre. Sur la petite butte artificielle on dispose trois rangées de quatre grosses pierres, orientées Est-Ouest: une rangée sur le côté Sud,

¹ On prend souvent le mot *masa* comme synonyme de *fama* (roi), cf. par exemple, Mgr H. Bazin, *Dictionnaire Bambara-Français*, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1906, p. 185, au mot *Fama*; cependant les notions auxquelles répondent ces vocables sont très différentes.

² Il va de soi que ce gnomon offre de très nombreux types quant à certains de ses éléments. Nous nous limitons intentionnellement dans cet article à l'une de ces variantes.

³ Bien qu'appelé *masa dyginye*, le *wati dyati dyginye* est à distinguer d'un autre grenier propre au *masa* et qui est dit lui aussi *masa dyginye*.

⁴ Ces mesures ne sont pas à considérer selon la rigueur de notre système métrique.

⁵ Le pied (*sendegenya*) bambara mesure environ vingt-cinq centimètres.

⁶ La coudée (*nongo*) mesure environ cinquante centimètres. Les informateurs établissent un rapport qui nous échappe entre la longueur et la largeur du séko.

⁷ Pour indiquer le diamètre les Bambara disent: 'la grande largeur du dedans du grenier (*dyginye kono na ba*)', ou: 'le grand milieu du grenier (*dyginye tyamandye ba*)'. Le rapport entre la circonférence et le diamètre du grenier donne à π une valeur sensiblement supérieure à 3.1416.

une sur le côté Nord, et une au milieu. Transversalement, au-dessus de ces rangées de pierres, on pose quatre poutrelles en bois¹ sur lesquelles on place, en travers, un certain nombre de bois plus minces dont le nombre est parfois déterminé comme on le verra plus loin. Sur ces frustes solives on place d'abord le *kondo*, vaste soucoupe ronde, ouvragée en spirale, en pailles vertes de *n'golo* (variété de *pennisetum*), dont le rebord sert à emboîter l'ouverture inférieure du corps cylindrique du grenier. L'emboîtement mesure un empan environ. Le *kondo* est crépi avant d'y déposer le grenier avec de la terre mélangée aux excréments de bovidés. A son tour, le cylindre du grenier est crépi à l'extérieur, en même temps que la 'soucoupe' qui le reçoit, avec de la terre de fourmilière, puis le tout est blanchi à la chaux. Cette opération terminée, on trace sur l'édifice, de bas en haut, vingt-sept cercles, alternativement : noirs, blancs, rouges (neuf de chaque couleur).²

Le grenier est ensuite enveloppé dans une vaste pièce en pailles de *n'zara* (*andropogon amplexans*) nattée de la même manière que le grenier lui-même. C'est là la peau du grenier (*dyginye wolo*). Contrairement à la façon de réunir les deux extrémités du séko qui forme le réservoir, les deux bouts de la 'peau' du silo sont superposées au moment de l'encylindrage du grenier et sont retenus par trois anneaux en *mangana* (*Hyppocratea Richardsonia*), disposés de telle sorte qu'ils divisent l'édifice en quatre secteurs égaux. Cette dernière opération rend le grenier-gnomon apte à recevoir les graines de mil. On n'y met que du gros mil en laissant dans la partie supérieure un espace vide d'un empan.³ On le coiffe alors d'une toiture conique dont l'arête mesure trois coudées et demie. La hauteur totale du réservoir, du sol au sommet, est de dix coudées.

Il n'entre pas dans le cadre de cet article de donner une vue d'ensemble sur les correspondances des éléments architecturaux du grenier-gnomon avec le macrocosme, le microcosme, la société et les institutions. Nous nous limitons ici à l'essentiel qui permet de se rendre compte de la complexité de cet instrument astronomique et de la synthèse de savoir qu'il offre.

Dans son ensemble ce grenier est un 'abrégé' astronomique et calendéristique. Les divers éléments qui ont servi à son érection rappellent chacun soit des données de la science des astres, soit des divisions du temps.

Le tertre sur lequel est assis l'édifice, et le cylindre du grenier lui-même représentent l'espace terrestre. Celui-ci en tant que partie habitée et socialisée du rond de la terre, est considéré, en effet, chez les Bambara sous deux aspects différents : soit comme corps lancé dans l'espace, soit comme surface de ce même corps bordée par les quatre horizons.⁴ Suivant la première perspective l'espace terrestre est un cylindre oblong

¹ Deux en karité (*butirospermum Parkii*) et deux en *n'guna* (*sclerocarya Birrea*).

² Le blanc étant le fond sur lequel on trace ces dessins, on laisse un espace entre les cercles noirs et les cercles rouges, ce qui fait apparaître les cercles blancs entre les deux autres couleurs.

³ D'après nos informateurs le silo abrite deux cent quarante paniers de mil (200 en notre compte, car le cent bambara est égal à 80). Le panier-unité pour cette opération est le *seki*, récipient tronconique, dont le diamètre du fond mesure une coudée, celui de l'ouverture : une coudée et demie, et la hauteur de l'arête : une coudée et demie. Théoriquement le

grenier ne pourrait abriter que quatre-vingt-treize de ces paniers, environ. Disons, cependant, que le mil y est entassé à l'aide du pilon ; par ailleurs, étant obligés d'exprimer en unités métriques les unités de mesure bambara, nos calculs n'offrent qu'une approximation relative par rapport à la réalité.

⁴ Cf. D. Zahan, *La notion d'écliptique chez les Dogon et les Bambara du Soudan français*, Communication faite au 3^{ème} Congrès International des Africanistes de l'Ouest, 12-21 décembre 1949. Le présent article a fait l'objet également d'une communication à ce même Congrès.

limité aux deux extrémités par les tropiques.¹ C'est ce 'rond-long' de la terre (*dyen koli ani dyenya*), autour duquel s'enroule la route hélicoïdale du soleil durant l'année, qui est figuré par le 'ventre' du grenier. Suivant la deuxième perspective, le boudin terrestre est vu du dessus, vers les quatre horizons; il épouse alors la forme d'une surface carrée ou rectangulaire. Le tertre sur lequel repose le grenier représente cette apparence de l'espace.

Les douze pierres du dessous du grenier représentent les douze mois de l'année. Ces assises considérées selon les trois rangées, marquent la division de l'année en trois saisons, chacune de quatre mois. L'hivernage, avec le temps de saison humide qui le suit, est marqué par la rangée du Nord; la saison froide est représentée par la rangée la plus abritée du milieu, tandis qu'à la chaleur très sèche correspond la rangée du Sud. Considérées selon la perspective Nord-Sud, les rangées de pierres indiquent la division de l'année en quatre saisons de trois mois chacune. L'hivernage et la chaleur humide sont à l'Est, le froid et la chaleur sèche à l'Ouest. Les quatre poutrelles en bois ont la même signification; cependant, l'alliance pierre-bois signifie le sec et l'humide qui, tout en divisant l'année en deux moitiés égales, se retrouvent chacun au sein de son contraire. Le bois est la chaleur, l'aridité, la poussière et le vent; la pierre: la fraîcheur, l'eau, la fécondité. Il n'y a pas de siccité sans eau, ni de fertilité sans chaleur.²

Les minces solives posées au-dessus des poutrelles indiquent, dans certains types de greniers-gnomon, les maisons de la lune; elles sont alors au nombre de vingt-sept.³

Les cercles coloriés entourant le corps du grenier symbolisent les vingt-sept maisons de la lune. Les neuf cercles noirs indiquent les neuf mansions d'hivernage. Le noir est la couleur du Nord, de l'eau, de la végétation, des nuages et des cicatrices résultant des plaies provoquées par le travail champêtre; le noir évoque l'idée de fermeture, de fin des peines: il est la couleur du bonheur issu des fatigues du laboureur. Les neuf cercles blancs correspondent aux mansions de la saison froide. Le blanc est la couleur du Sud, du vent, des tourbillons de poussière, mais indique aussi la satiété, la nourri-

¹ L'angle formé par chaque extrémité avec les arêtes Est et Ouest du cylindre sont les quatre coins du monde (*dyen seleke nani*, litt., monde coins quatre) appelés en bambara: *baba koro seleke* (angle Nord-Est), *baba tlebi seleke* (angle Nord-Ouest), *banin koro seleke* (angle Sud-Est), *banin tlebi seleke* (angle Sud-Ouest). Remarquons, cependant, que l'expression bambara *dyen seleke nani* qu'on serait tenté de traduire par 'points cardinaux' peut être prise dans deux sens: pour un observateur qui serait placé au centre du monde les 'quatre coins' sont ceux formés par les diagonales fictives du carré de la terre; pour celui, par contre, qui se mouverait sur les côtés de la surface du monde, ils sont les sommets mêmes du polygone terrestre (cf. D. Zahan, *La notion d'orientation chez les Bambara et les Dogon*, à paraître).

² Il est intéressant de noter au sein de la même collectivité la coexistence de ces diverses façons de diviser l'année. Celle-ci est dite avoir deux, trois ou quatre saisons selon qu'on veut déterminer, entre autres, des moments de plus en plus précis du temps compris entre deux phénomènes météorologiques

consécutifs importants et durables, tels que: averses, chaleur humide, froid, chaleur sèche. Toutefois, la division fondamentale est celle régie par le sec et l'humide qui partagent, en gros, l'année en deux moitiés égales: saison des pluies, saison sèche. Cette division du temps se rencontre non seulement chez les Bambara mais également chez les Dogon, chez les Mossi, et elle est sans doute commune à toute la partie de l'Afrique soumise au même régime climatique que celle où vivent les peuples mentionnés ci-dessus.

³ Nous avons recueilli des documents sur plusieurs types de greniers-gnomon. Il résulte de la comparaison de ces documents que les données astronomiques représentées sur le gnomon le sont au moyen de divers éléments architecturaux. Les vingt-sept mansions lunaires, par exemple, sont symbolisées tantôt par vingt-sept solives, tantôt par les vingt-sept cercles coloriés. De même, les douze mois sont indiqués soit par les douze pierres, soit par douze cercles peints sur le corps du grenier.

ture, la paix, le rire et la joie; les choses pas encore dévoilées et les affaires secrètes relèvent également de la couleur blanche. Les neuf cercles rouges symbolisent les mansions lunaires de la saison très chaude. Le rouge est la couleur du haut, du zénith, du soleil impétueux, comme il est l'indice de la chefferie, de la punition, des plaies, du sang et des choses manifestées. Le rouge est un aboutissement, une affaire tranchée.¹

Comme les étoiles ne sont pas visibles à n'importe quel moment de l'année, nous n'avons pu identifier jusqu'à présent qu'un certain nombre des vingt-sept mansions lunaires. Parmi elles on compte aussi bien des étoiles isolées que des constellations, le mot bambara *dolo* (étoile) s'appliquant aux unes et aux autres, et même aux planètes. Chacune de ces mansions résume les caractères du temps qu'elle détermine et noue avec les choses terrestres de multiples correspondances. Astronomie et astrologie ne sont point séparées.² Le grenier-gnomon est, en somme, un raccourci des deux aspects de la science des astres, et, si par un côté il symbolise l'année avec ses quatre cent quarante jours,³ par un autre il prolonge ce symbolisme durant plusieurs années. Tous les dix ans, en effet, il est complètement refait, ce cycle représentant une des nombreuses autres périodes de réfection de l'univers.⁴

Le principal emploi du grenier-gnomon est dans la détermination de la date des solstices et des équinoxes. Le propriétaire du silo a comme charge spéciale non seulement la garde de l'instrument, mais aussi la surveillance de son ombre sur le sol.⁵ La tâche de ce gardien est particulièrement importante à l'approche des quatre moments critiques de l'année. Quand le soleil approche de sa route extrême au Nord, au moment du solstice d'été, le propriétaire prend les mesures de l'ombre du grenier à l'aide du pied; celles-ci sont toujours prises à midi.⁶ Le jour où l'ombre atteint trois pieds le début de l'hivernage est décrété et on commence les semailles. Ce moment correspond avec 'le chemin du soleil sur la route de *nyugu nyugu* (pléiades)', c'est-à-dire: de l'angle Nord-Est à l'angle Nord-Ouest du monde. L'approche de ce jour est repérée par la disparition des pléiades, quelque temps après le coucher du soleil, à l'Ouest.

Quant aux équinoxes celui de printemps seul intéresse d'une façon spéciale à cause des travaux agricoles en vue des semailles. On le détermine par la longueur de

¹ On ne saurait trop insister sur l'importance de ces trois couleurs dans nombre de populations de l'Afrique; ce sont les teintes fondamentales. Autrefois, les colporteurs de cotonnades ne véhiculaient sur les marchés que les fils blancs, rouges et noirs. Par ailleurs, toute la ritologie vestimentaire est commandée par les idées cosmologiques sous-jacentes à ces trois couleurs; les rites sacrificiels eux-mêmes ne sont pas exempts de leur emprise (plumes, poils et peau des victimes sont des 'habits'). Il en est de même de la ritologie cathartique.

² Nombre d'institutions et d'activités sociales sont régies chez les Bambara, tout comme chez d'autres populations africaines, par les phases et les positions périodiques de certaines planètes. Le cycle de la circoncision, par exemple, est commandé par le retour de Vénus (*sigi dolo*) à son plus vif éclat durant son élongation orientale, période où Vénus est étoile du matin. Les phases des planètes et leurs positions sont déterminées par leur éclat vif ou terne.

³ C'est-à-dire 360 selon notre compte. L'année bambara compte en effet 360 jours, comme l'année dogon. Cf. S. de Ganay, 'Notes sur la théodicée bambara', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, avril-juin 1949, p. 209; D. Zahan, *Aperçu sur la pensée théogonique des Dogon*, Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, Paris, avril-juin 1949, p. 124, n. 25.

⁴ Dix, qui dans le système arithmétique soudanais (Bambara, Dogon, Mossi) se réduit à un, est toujours un recommencement.

⁵ Le véritable propriétaire du silo est le *masa*. Celui-ci en confiait la garde à un fils de captif (le *woloso*) qui recevait le titre de 'propriétaire du grenier (*dyginye tigi*)'.

⁶ D'autres mesures étaient prises à l'aide de ce gnomon ou à l'aide de gnomons plus primitifs, semble-t-il, à d'autres moments du jour. Dans l'état actuel des enquêtes, il semblerait que ces dernières mensurations soient des essais d'arpentage de l'espace cosmique.

quatre pieds de l'ombre du gnomon. Le soleil est à ce moment de l'année au milieu juste entre le Nord et le Sud, sa route étant ' de l'Est tout droit à l'Ouest tout droit '. Ce jour rappelle le début de la création, car le retour du verdissement des arbres, en fait, le retour de la végétation, est associé chez les Bambara au déclenchement de l'acte créateur. L'équinoxe vernal est le temps où le principe sec a engendré le principe humide, chacun des deux régissant une moitié de l'année. La coïncidence de ce jour avec le début du mois de *dyomine*, premier mois de l'année bambara, donnait lieu autrefois à des mimiques de l'acte créateur. Ce n'était pas, cependant, des mises en scène mais des activités sociales pleines de gravité. La plus importante d'entre elles consistait dans l'extraction du minerai de fer, la fonte et l'obtention du métal brut. Ce rôle incombait, naturellement, au forgeron.

Le solstice d'hiver est censé arriver le jour où l'ombre du grenier atteint une longueur de dix pieds. C'est le jour où, à midi, l'ombre du gnomon est la plus longue; le soleil se meut de l'angle Sud-Est à l'angle Sud-Ouest du monde. Il est dans la partie la plus reculée de l'espace, vers le Sud, et est prêt à reprendre sa course vers le Nord. Les travaux agricoles dictés par cette mesure du temps consistent dans un geste symbolique de débroussaillage des quatre coins du grand champ de famille.

En dehors de ce compte du temps dans l'année, il ne semble pas que les Bambara se soient appliqués d'une façon particulière à la mesure de courts intervalles de la durée. Aussi, ont-ils envisagé, grâce à cet instrument, moins une intelligence théorique de la durée que sa connaissance pratique. Les périodes sont liées aux travaux agricoles, ceux-ci au grenier et à la graine. Cette dernière, en tant que contenu du grenier est, en somme, un ' centre ' (*tyamandye*) et un univers en réduction.

Nous ne sommes qu'au début des enquêtes sur le gnomon bambara. Dès maintenant on peut dire, cependant, que ces investigations ouvrent des perspectives pleines d'intérêt sur la notion de temps et d'espace chez les Noirs d'Afrique.¹ Qui sait même si elles n'apporteront pas un peu de clarté dans le problème si confus de l'origine de la civilisation manding et dans celui, non moins complexe, des rapports entre l'Afrique Noire et sa puissante voisine du Nord. Ces enquêtes font apparaître, en outre, l'aspect scientifique de la pensée Noire, car si les mesures du temps ne semblent pas être effectuées dans un but théorique, celles de l'espace, par contre, démontrent une ébauche de calcul en vue de la connaissance pure et simple. Nous avons des indices certains qu'à l'aide de gnomons plus frustes que le grenier les Bambara ont essayé d'arpenter l'espace cosmique qu'ils représentent par la graphie de la croix de Lorraine aux bras recourbés vers le bas et vers le haut. Cette représentation de l'espace est d'ailleurs commune à plusieurs peuples soudanais; partout elle représente en même temps le savoir humain.² Bien plus, l'organisation sociale et religieuse des peuples Africains chez lesquels on retrouve cette représentation du cosmos, semble reposer moins sur le mythe que sur une intelligence, à base de calcul et de nombre, de l'univers.³

¹ Ce problème sera traité dans notre étude sur l'espace et le temps chez quelques populations du Soudan français.

² Cf. D. Zahan, *Aperçu sur la pensée théogonique des Dogon*, p. 130 et n. 46.

³ On peut se demander si, chez les Dogon, le grenier qui laisse apparaître la structure sociale et le

système philosophique et religieux de cette population (cf. M. Griaule, *Dieu d'eau*, Éditions du Chêne, Paris, 1948) n'est pas lui aussi un gnomon prodigieusement enveloppé dans le mythe. Par ailleurs, des enquêtes récentes menées chez les Mossi, tendent à attester, à présent même, l'usage du grenier-gnomon.

Résumé

A SUDANESE SUNDIAL

THIS article describes the cylindrical granaries built by the Bambara of the French Sudan and used by them as astronomical and calendrical instruments. The granaries are constructed in accordance with exact measurements, and are mounted on square mounds of stamped earth also carefully measured, and orientated so that their angles face north, south, east, and west. On the mound are placed three rows of stones—twelve in all, orientated east and west, and on these are placed wooden beams lying transversely; the granary is erected on this structure, resting in a large round saucer woven of green rushes. The outside of the granary is whitewashed and painted with black and red rings. All the materials used in the structure, as well as the measurements and the orientation, have symbolic significance, and represent the earth, round which lies the path of the sun, the times and seasons of the agricultural year, the division of the solar and lunar years into seasons and months, the qualities of heat and cold, humidity and aridity, making up man's environment. The chief use of the granary is to determine the dates of the solstices and equinoxes, which is carried out by measuring the shadow it casts at certain fixed times. The dates for the beginning of sowing, harvesting, and clearing are fixed by reference to the length of the shadow. The duties of guarding the granary and of measuring the shadow devolve upon the owner. Thus among the Bambara the measurement of time is bound up with the agricultural cycle, which in turn is linked with the granary and its store of grain. The author suggests that further researches may throw light on methods practised by the Bambara for measuring not only time but space.

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MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.¹

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann² and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,³ early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Luoland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Simba

Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love to girls (*codo*) in the *simba* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *simba*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *riso*, the final ceremony of marriage. I was told that a girl does not usually visit the *simba* more often than once or twice a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

¹ E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949.

² H. Hartmann, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo',

Anthropos, 1928.

³ K. C. Shaw, 'Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs', *J.E.A. & U.N.H.S.*, 1932.

Por

These notes refer to the ordinary form of Luo marriage. There is another and rare form called *por* which is marriage by elopement, and is regarded with shame and ridicule. A man brings a girl to the *simba* where he penetrates her. She remains in his home and cooks in his mother's hut, a sure sign that a woman regards herself as a wife. Or a man and his sweetheart run away to a distant tribe and cohabit there. The girl's family may try to make her return to them, but if she refuses to do so they regularize the union by accepting some cattle from her lover, though he does not pay as many cattle as he would have done had the marriage been negotiated in the usual manner. A girl married to-day by Christian rites is sometimes referred to disparagingly as a *dhako ma por* because she cooks in her husband's home immediately after her wedding.

Meko

Meko is the correct form of marriage, and the word is also used for the first phase of it, the abduction of the bride and her defloration before witnesses. A youth, having obtained his father's consent, looks for a suitable wife. He may already have his eye on a local girl, but frequently he goes with a friend to look for a bride from the home of a distant kinsman in whose neighbourhood there are plenty of unrelated girls. When he hears of a nice girl he visits her home and sits in its *simba* till she and the other girls of her home come to chat with him. If he likes the girl he later returns to her home accompanied by two friends, one of them, called *jagam* or *jatelo*, being a friend of both families whose business it is to negotiate between them. The young man asks the girl to marry him. If she is unwilling the marriage is unlikely to take place, even though her parents are agreeable to it. If she favours him she tells him to discuss the matter with her parents. When they consult the parents the suitor sits between his two friends so that the people of the home can tell at a glance, if they look into the *simba*, which of the visitors it is who is asking for the hand of their daughter. The suitor leaves the *jagam* to do the talking. As he is a friend of the girl's family her father knows that he would not have undertaken to act as go-between unless the suitor had enough cattle. There is no mention of cattle at this stage.

The next phase is the abduction of the bride. The young men of the bridegroom's home come to the girl's home in the early morning and wait outside the entrance to the kraal. The *jagam* enters the homestead and goes to the *suwindhi*, the girls' dormitory in charge of an old woman called the *pim*, and he shouts to this old woman that he wants their bride. After being promised a present the old woman opens the door. The girl at once begins to make trouble. She holds on to the old woman and screams and struggles as the *jagam* drags her away. The young men of the village come to her assistance and a mimic fight takes place between them and the youths from the bridegroom's home. It is seldom that a bride is averse to going to her husband, who may have long been her lover, but she must resist with as much noise as she can to show that this is not an elopement but a proper marriage. Once she is out of earshot of her home she goes quietly with the young men. When they arrive at the bridegroom's home she goes straight to the *simba*, where his brothers and sisters entertain her, the sisters chaffing her and telling her that their home is a much better place than the one

she has left. The bridegroom keeps away from her—they are shy together and do not converse when in company.

After the bride has been dragged from her home the girls of her homestead follow after her singing. This singing party of girls, called *jodariya* or *omower*, arrives at the bridegroom's home in the evening. Now takes place the defloration of the bride in the presence of her sister, called *jadong*, perhaps accompanied by another girl of her home, and one of the bridegroom's married brothers. The *jadong* lays an ox-hide on the floor of the hut and draws the bride and bridegroom, both naked, towards it. She puts out the fire and in the darkness the marriage is consummated, though without orgasm. The witnesses rekindle the fire and by its light examine the man's member for the *ring ruok*, the hymen. When the *jadong* sees it she shouts the news to the girls of the singing party outside, who then enter and beat the bridegroom, saying: 'You have killed our sister.' He gets out quickly and goes away. The visiting girls and the young men of the home sing together all night, the bride remaining with them in the *simba*. If the bride is found not to have been a virgin there is no singing because of the shame. However, it makes no difference to the validity of the rite and if there is subsequently a divorce, a cow called *dher duong nyako*, the cow of the maiden's honour, has to be paid by the bridegroom's people whether his bride was a virgin or not.

Early next morning the party of girls return home, taking the hymen with them and singing all the way. When they enter the bride's homestead all the people of the home throw ashes towards her father and mother. The girls then eat, for they are very hungry, not having eaten at the bridegroom's home. His parents took no notice of them, either by providing them with food or in any other way. 'They are enemies.' The bride remains in the bridegroom's home, and the *jadong* with her to keep her company. Still no bridewealth has been paid and there has been no discussion about it.

Shortly after the marriage has been consummated the bridegroom's people give the bride a *cieno*, a girdle with what looks like a tail, made of fibrous material, at the back, to wear as a sign of her new status. They present her with a goat at the same time. They also give her a small pubic covering.

Diero

A large party, called *jodiro*, now—generally on the day after the defloration, I believe—goes singing from the bride's district to the home of the bridegroom. There may be more than a hundred young men and girls in this party, the men bearing clubs and shields and wearing ostrich-feather head-dresses. They wait outside the bridegroom's homestead and send the bride's brother to call her out. When she comes her brother asks her: 'What do you think? Do you agree that we ask for a bull? Are you willing to stay with your husband and be his wife?' The *jadong*, who has come out with her, knows her mind and answers for her. The brother reports to his companions that she agrees. They enter the kraal and point to an ox and say that they want that one. The bridegroom's father may do no more than promise them an ox but generally he gives it to them right away, though not the animal they have chosen for they will have picked out the best he has. After argument they agree to accept the one he gives them and take it home with them. It is kept by the bride's father and counts as part of the bridewealth. Two or three days after the visit of the *jodiro* party

the bride's sisters visit her, bringing porridge. Often her parents kill a goat and cook it and send the meat with the porridge, and it is eaten by the bride and the bridegroom's sisters. The bride's sisters return home the same day if they live near, on the following day if they live far away. The bride generally returns to her parents after this visit.

Lupo

About a week later takes place the *lupo* ceremony. The bride's family kill a bull and sometimes also a goat or sheep and some fowls. If they are rich they may kill two bulls. Apart from one foreleg, the head, and the skin, which they keep for the elders of their own household, the carcase is taken raw to the bridegroom's home by the bride's young kinsmen in advance of her young kinswomen who follow with the cooked intestines, some meat off the ribs, and porridge. The bearers of the meat take it to the hut of the bridegroom's mother where it is divided into customary portions among the people of his home. When the bride's kinsmen have put it down they fling their clubs at the fowls till they have killed a cock, which they roast in the dung fire and eat. They shout to the people of the bridegroom's home demanding porridge to eat with it, but this is not always provided. They then return home, passing the girls who are bringing the cooked meats.

The girls wait a few hundred yards away from the bridegroom's homestead and send a girl to the *simba* to summon the bride to come and eat. She asks the messenger whether the other girls of the home have been told about it and the messenger replies: 'No, it is for you to collect your people together.' The bridegroom's people, and not the people of her parents' home, are her people now. The bride shouts to the girls of the homestead, chaffing them: 'Come out and eat. We want to feed you. You never see good meat in this homestead. Now you have married a rich man's daughter and will get meat.' The bride comes out of the homestead with the *jadong*, who has been with her all the time, and her husband's sisters. They sit down and eat the meat, the bride herself eating only a morsel, while the visiting girls sing in the *kraal*. When they have finished their meal they join the visitors with whom they fix a day for the next ceremony, the *duoko*, the returning of the bride to her parents. The visitors then return home.

Duoko

This ceremony is called *ter* to the south of the Kavirondo Gulf. It takes place a few days after the *lupo* ceremony. The husband's people and their friends form a party, called *joduoknyako* or *joternyako*, to visit the wife's parents. Before setting out the women of the home smear the wife and the *jadong* with butter at the entrance to the hut of the husband's mother and throw sesame over them. The sister of the husband brings a twig and hands it to her brother and tells him to beat his wife. He gives her a stroke with it. The sister then hands it to the wife who strikes her husband with it. The party now set out, often taking a goat with them. The husband's sister leads the procession, followed by the wife and her *jadong*. When they reach the wife's homestead its womenfolk rush out and prevent them from entering it. An old woman, preferably the bride's grandmother, pierces the lower beak of a fowl, threads a cord through it, and ties it round the wife's neck. She then cuts off the lower beak and throws the

fowl to the ground. The small boys of the home kill it and afterwards eat it. The visiting party now enter the kraal and pay their respects to the wife's mother. The night is spent in eating, drinking, singing, and flirting. If the owner of the homestead is rich he may kill an ox in the morning for the visitors to feast on. The visitors then return home, taking with them the wife, or bride, but not her *jadong*. The wife returns to her parents after spending a few days in her husband's home.

So far there has been no talk about cattle, but after this ceremony the husband, or his father, begins to pay bridewealth and the wife's parents put pressure on him to expedite payment by encouraging their daughter to return home on frequent visits. The husband cannot prevent her departure, nor can he demand her return, but he has the right to send his brothers to seize her and drag her, screaming and struggling, to his home whenever he sees her at a public gathering, to-day often at a market. The husband pays an animal, then the wife returns to her parents, then he pays another animal, and so on, till the parents are satisfied and let him take his wife for good.

Powo

The husband starts paying the bridewealth after the *duoko* ceremony by sending to his parents-in-law a young bull called *dher powo* because his father strikes it with a twig of the *powo* tree before dispatching it to them. The wife remains with her parents for about a month after this payment, and then takes place the *duoko powo*, the returning of the twig, when the wife returns to her husband in the company of her *jadong*. She stays with him a few days and returns to her parents.

Riso

As the husband is anxious to start a home of his own and cannot do so while his wife is constantly running back to her parents he now pays the cattle as fast as he can. When he has paid from six to twelve head of cattle he sends his *jagam*, the go-between who negotiated the marriage, with his brothers to tell his father-in-law that he has now paid the bridewealth and wants the *riso* ceremony to be held. He says that he will pay later the cattle still owing. After this ceremony his wife will remain with him and be a full wife to him in both a domestic and a legal sense. She will cook for him and he will have redress if she has sexual intercourse with other men in the *simba*. The *riso* is the binding act of marriage.

When the *jagam* and the husband's brothers make their request the wife's people laugh at them: 'What are twelve (maybe) head of cattle? You are playing a game. You can go and tell your brother to come and take his cattle back.' The *jagam* refuses to make any more payments, so they tell him to go back and tell his friend to remove his cattle. When the husband hears this he asks his relatives and friends to accompany him to his parents-in-law. They take a heifer or young bull with them to placate them. The husband assumes a downcast expression and makes himself appear as miserable as he can. He does not cheer up even when his parents-in-law send him beer to drink in their *simba*. The visitors ask for their wife and her father may consent to her going if they promise to pay the rest of the cattle soon, but usually he is obdurate. He says: 'Go and get that cow. You are still playing a game. I don't want to keep the girl here. It rests with you when you take her. You can take her to-day if you like, but you must first bring the rest of the cattle.' The *jagam* and the father argue. Everyone

knows more or less what is going to happen. If the husband is really poor the father will eventually give way. If he has a number of cattle the *jagam* gives way and promises one more beast. It is very rare for a marriage to be broken off on account of cattle at this stage. If the father is very obstinate the husband's people return home leaving the husband behind to sulk in his father-in-law's *simba*. He refuses to eat the food his mother-in-law sends him there and gets an occasional meal with friends in the vicinity. After several days his father-in-law says to him: 'Hello, are you still here? What are you doing here?' The young man replies: 'I want to die here in your kraal.' The father-in-law says: 'You can't do that. Get out.' He refuses to go without his wife and finally the father-in-law says: 'I am tired of you both. Get out and take your wife with you, and mind you pay that cow quickly', and he calls his daughter and tells her to get out with her husband as he is tired of seeing him there. He pushes them both out of the homestead.

The ceremony of *riso* is then held in the husband's homestead, where he has collected all his relatives and friends. It is a day of great gaiety. The wife and a party of girls from her home come singing to her husband's home. When they are a few hundred yards from his homestead the wife and two of her friends hide themselves. The other girls come on in a body, enter the kraal and go straight to the *simba*. One of the husband's brothers asks where are the rest of the party, meaning the wife. The wife's eldest sister replies: 'I don't understand what you are talking about. There is no one missing. We are all here.' Some youths are sent out to scout round to see if they can find the wife. They move softly, looking about them and listening for sounds. When they find the wife they pull her to the entrance of the kraal. Here she says: 'I don't want to enter your homestead. You give me what you know.' He promises to give it to her later in the *simba*, but she refuses to enter without a payment, so he gives her an arm-ring, called *manyonge* in Alego and *onyonge* in South Luoland. At the entrance to the *simba* she says she must have something in return for bending down to enter it and they often make her another gift for this purpose, though a rough brother of her husband may just take her by the scruff of the neck and push her in. In the hut she says that she is very tired and wants to sit down. One of the men forces her to sit.

The visiting girls spend the night at the husband's home. Some of them may spend it with local youths in their bachelor-huts. Next morning the husband's people bring a bull or an ox and call the senior girl of the wife's people and ask her to accept it. She always says that it is too small, but when the husband pleads poverty she accepts it. The visiting girls take some of the meat home with them on the following day, but they eat most of it that night in the *simba* after the husband's people have given the wife an ornament in return for that privilege. They must give her another present to enable her to sit down there. All the husband's people bring her gifts. She sits with her legs tucked under her and has to be given a present to stretch them. She says she wants to spit and they give her something to enable her to do so. She says that soot from the roof may fall in her eyes, and they give her something to compensate her for the risk. They also give her a number of other presents, each of which has its name: *ra yanyi maro*, a goat to pay in advance for any insulting remarks the husband may make about his mother-in-law; *ra luor tawo*, a goat for the wife to place her husband's daily gruel respectfully before him; *gir bangala higa*, an ornament for the burns a wife

may incur while cooking; *gir ote*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send his wife on; *gir ngolo olawo*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will always be expectorating on the floor; *gir logo*, a present for the water a wife brings her husband to wash his hands with; *gir teno wic*, a present to enable the husband to sleep with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kom*, a present for fetching her husband's stool; *diend then*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *yuro*, the paternal kinsfolk of her husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the *riso* party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have spent the night. They reply: 'You are bad people and you have done us an injury. You are enemies, you and your wife also.' The girls have a midday meal and leave for home taking with them the *riso* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony, except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepo

After the *riso* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise, her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering, for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miaha*, bride. A few months later takes place the final ceremony of marriage, the *sepo*, called *gango* in Southern Luoland. One day the husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her husband making the *simba* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simba*. Now the husband—usually after the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook. She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so that she can serve them with meat.

Miloha

The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloha*, *dho nyumbo*, and *dho keny*. The number of

animals paid varies according to the circumstances of the time. From the information recorded by early authorities (Johnston, Hobley, Northcote, Stam, and Hartmann) it appears that before cattle plague had destroyed much of the Luo livestock at the end of last century, anything between twenty and forty head of cattle were paid. Since then, until recently, bridewealth has fluctuated between two or three and six or seven head of cattle. One gathers from Shaw's account that in 1932 round about twenty cattle were regarded as a suitable bridewealth. My own inquiries in 1936 led me to believe that at that time the number of cattle paid might be expected to be somewhere between fifteen and twenty.

They fall into two parts, the *dho keny* and the *dho i keny*. The *dho keny*, the animals the husband pays first, are those which are named and earmarked for certain relatives of the bride. They comprise the basic minimum which has to be paid if the marriage is to be concluded. These are the *dher maro gi nyatheni*, the cow of the mother and its calf, *dher wuoro gi nyatheni*, the cow of the father and its calf, *dher atum*, the cow of the bow, a female calf which goes to the father's brother, *dher ciewo*, the cow of the fresh milk, *thuon dhok*, a bull for the father, *ruath pala*, the calf of the knife, which is paid so that if any of the bridewealth cattle die in the home of the bride's parents they may eat the meat—before it is paid they send the meat to the bridegroom and he has to replace the beast; *ruath dier*, the ox provided for meat at the *diero* ceremony, and *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, an animal killed by the bridegroom's people to provide the mother of the bride with meat—it is killed in her home but there is no special time when it has to be presented. Except for the cow, and perhaps a calf with it, which goes to the paternal uncle and the ox slain to feast the visiting girls at the *diero* ceremony, all these animals are taken by the parents. The terms by which they are described differ in different parts of Luoland.

I believe that to the south of the Kavirondo gulf no distinction is made between the named and the unnamed cattle, but it is a very important distinction in Alego, where the husband's *jagam* and brothers are most careful, when they take the named animals to the home of the bride's father, to leave no doubt in his mind which particular animals he is receiving. He cannot then get an additional animal by claiming later that one of those which must in all marriages be paid has not been paid. The husband pays one or two of the *dho keny* at a time and it generally takes about two years for him to hand them all over. In addition he has to pay the *dho i keny*. The number of these extra cattle is not fixed and is reached by negotiation between the husband's people and his father-in-law. Nevertheless there is a conventional average, in 1936 between five and seven head of cattle. It is about the odd extra beast or two that the lengthy discussions take place. Some of the *dho i keny* are paid shortly after the *dher powo* (which counts as one of them) has been handed over but the husband does not pay them, if he can avoid it, until he has settled all the named claims, as he may otherwise find that he has to give more cattle than he bargained for. In addition to cattle the husband's people pay a number of goats, between five and ten. The husband may not be able to pay all these animals for some years, and if his father-in-law is friendly he will not press him too hard to settle a small outstanding debt. The final animal perhaps will not be paid till the wife's daughter is married.

Although the father of the bride gets the bulk of the bridewealth, most of the animals will be used to marry wives for his sons, and he may give one or two to his

brothers. The bride's maternal uncle generally gets a heifer, the *dher nyakewo*, the cow of the sister's daughter, but it is not, I think, regarded as being part of the bridewealth and the payment in no way concerns the father of the bride. It is given to the maternal uncle in return for gifts, may be a ram, some chickens, and some eleusine, and for hospitality to the husband; for a well-disposed maternal uncle invites him to his home. The uncle has no legal right to the heifer. The Luo say that the *ner* is only an *ora*, the maternal uncle is only an in-law (of the father of the bride).

The last of the animals to be paid seems to be the *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, to which I have earlier referred. It is also called *hedho* and by other names. This ox is sometimes not paid till several years after the bride has been through the final rites of marriage. The husband's people drive it to the mother-in-law's home, arriving very early in the morning before the people are up, and they take the further precaution of severing the tendon of one of its legs as they drive it into the kraal, so that the young men of the home cannot seize it and add it to their herd. It is meat for the mother and not an ox for the herd of her husband and sons. It is then killed in front of the mother's hut. The wife's parents probably make the husband's party a return present of a sheep. They eat part of it in the home of the wife's parents and take the rest of the meat back with them to their own people.

It should be noted that the bride's family have to make return gifts to the husband's people and that these are also called *miloha*. Some of the gifts are animals slaughtered during the marriage rites, but it seems that they also have to pay one or two other beasts at various times to the husband's people. I was told that they hand over at least three head of cattle altogether, or as many as five if they are rich, including those killed for meat during the ceremonies. This is a point that invites further inquiry.

Everything paid by the husband's people to the wife's family counts as bridewealth and should there be a divorce the husband can demand their return, together with the progeny of the animals of the bridewealth. However, Luo regard divorce as a grave misfortune, and if the breach is occasioned by the wife's misbehaviour or is due to her running away from her husband, her parents make every effort to maintain the alliance they have entered into with the husband's people by replacing her by a sister or cousin. Also, if a wife dies the return of her bridewealth is regarded as a last and most undesirable resort. Instead, her parents try to replace her by a sister or cousin. This is known as *apongo dhuonga*, the filling of the basket. The husband may have to wait many years before he gets his new wife. He has to go through the full ceremonies of marriage with her and to pay bridewealth, though only a few cows, perhaps five or six. More are asked for if the replacement is from a different family. In the event of the bridewealth being returned, two or three head of cattle, according to the circumstances of the case and the sex of the child, are retained by the wife's people for any child she bore her husband, the child remaining with him. I believe that after the birth of a second child no cattle would be returned. However, even when a wife dies leaving several children behind her, her parents try to give the husband a relative in her place to keep up the alliance.

Ci liend

When a marriage has been completed, that is to say after a child has been born, it is regarded by Luo as a union which should not in any circumstances be broken. If the

wife dies she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the sororate is the levirate, the raising up of seed to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be respected. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *kwer* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jamwa*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's ghost is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger.

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a remarriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *pater*. His brother is only their *genitor*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the begetting (*dher nysolo* or *dher oding*). Also, one does not use the verb *kendo*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *atero* or *alago*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ci liend*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Lur

Luo practise very extensive avoidance, as part of a general attitude of respect (*lur*), of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kaorca* (my in-laws). If a man meets either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. A man who neglects these rules is said to be *wangatek*, to have strong eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *orce*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation.

When the wife has borne a child the rules of avoidance are relaxed and as the years go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *simba* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagam* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kacnoga*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat.

The people of the home press them to eat, but they refuse, so a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's eldest brother. Then they eat. The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a gourdful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a gourdful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Cieno

It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small pubic covering and a *cieno* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, were naked, except when they wore some small covering for ornament at public ceremonies, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *cieno* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *cieno*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *cieno* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

LA forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez le futur époux où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est déflorée en présence de sa sœur et d'autres jeunes filles de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à cet endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est consommé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée rentre chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où le futur l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

LES PRÉPRÉFIXES DANS LES LANGUES BANTOUES DU NORD-OUEST DU CONGO BELGE

L. B. DE BOECK

UNE particularité des langues bantoues, dont on ne connaît encore ni l'origine, ni toute l'étendue, est l'emploi de prépréfixes devant les substantifs. On donne le nom de prépréfixes à des éléments qui précèdent les préfixes nominaux ordinaires; cette particularité a été constatée dans assez bien de langues bantoues, tant dans le sud — par exemple, Zulu, Xhosa, Thonga — que dans le nord-est — Ziba, Ruanda, Ganda — de l'Afrique.

Dans notre travail cartographique sur les données du vocabulaire comparatif de Johnston¹ nous avons constaté que ces prépréfixes étaient signalés dans le sud et dans l'est de l'Afrique, mais non dans le centre ni dans l'ouest. Ainsi pour le préfixe de l'infinitif *ku-* Johnston a trouvé un prépréfixe dans les parlers Zulu, Xhosa, Herero, Mbandiero, Luyi et Tebele dans le sud, et dans le nord-est dans le Bisa et dans toute une région approximativement limitée par les lacs Albert, Edward, Kivu et Tanganyika, et une ligne qui, reliant le point sud du lac Tanganyika au nord du lac Nyassa, monte ensuite vers le nord pour aboutir à l'enclave des langues non-bantoues au sud-est du lac Victoria. Donc ce phénomène, quoique assez répandu, semblait malgré tout être une particularité des langues bantoues du sud et de l'est de l'Afrique.

Or voilà que nous avons constaté ce même fait dans le nord-ouest du Congo belge. Dans la documentation rassemblée dans des centaines de parlers de village en vue d'un travail de géographie linguistique,² nous avons trouvé tout un groupe de parlers ayant des prépréfixes.

La carte ci-jointe ne représente pas toute la région explorée: il faut y ajouter encore une centaine de Km. tant à l'est qu'à l'ouest, respectivement jusqu'aux 18° et 23° degrés de longitude est. Dans toute cette région, sur environ 700 parlers de village explorés, il n'y a que les parlers marqués sur la carte qui présentent des prépréfixes.

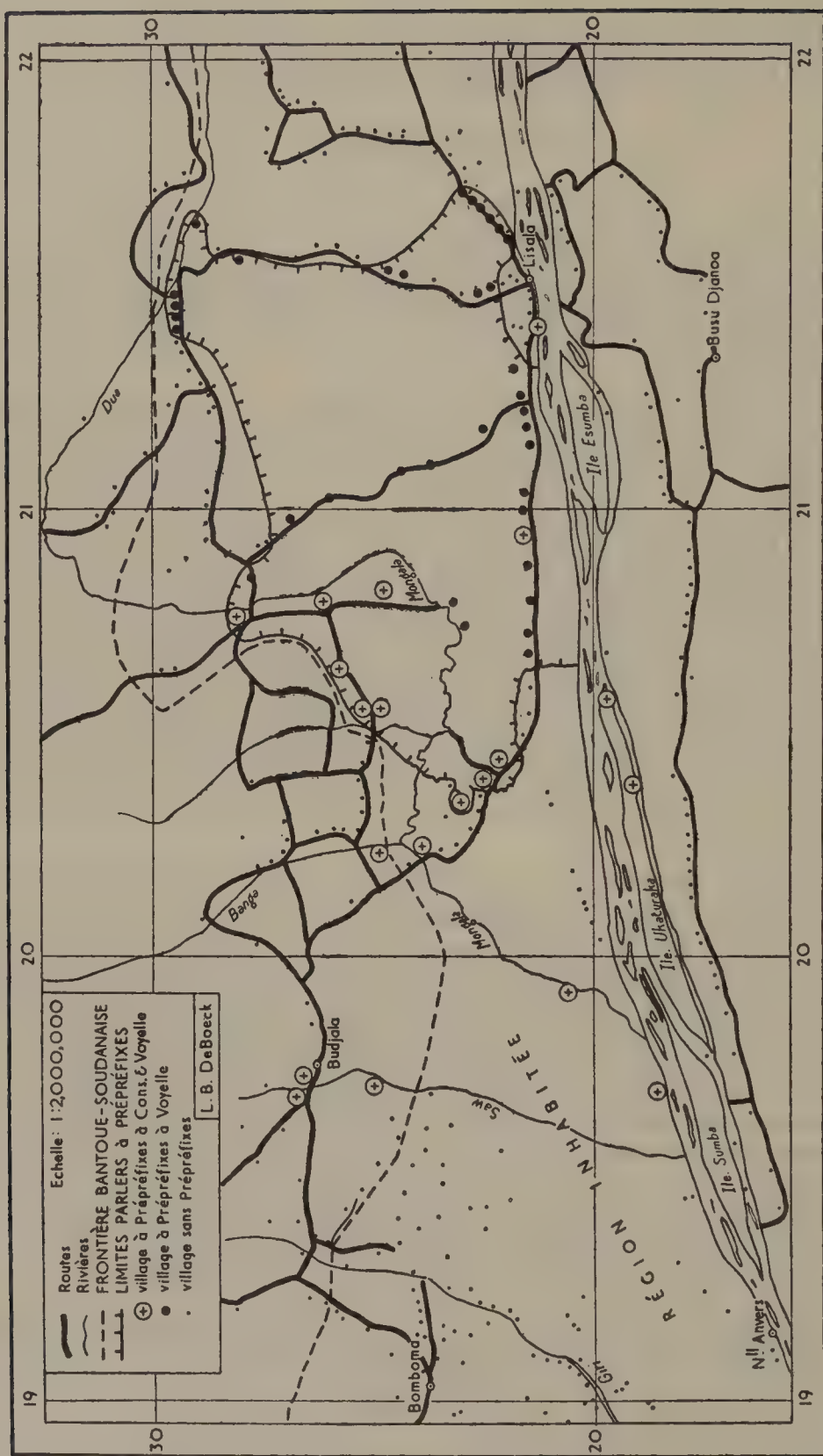
Comme on le voit sur la carte il s'y rencontre deux sortes de prépréfixes: il y a des parlers qui n'ont que des prépréfixes à voyelle, qui sont marqués sur la carte au moyen d'un gros point noir ●; il y en a d'autres qui possèdent aussi des prépréfixes à consonne plus voyelle; ceux-ci sont marqués sur la carte d'une petite croix dans un cercle ⊕. La limite indiquée n'englobe que des parlers ayant des prépréfixes; c'est-à-dire que dans cette région on n'a pas de parlers sans prépréfixes.³ En dehors de cette région il y a encore d'autres parlers à prépréfixes, qui sont situés sur les grandes rivières, comme par exemple sur la Saw, la Mongala, la Banga et le fleuve Congo.

¹ L. B. de Boeck, *Premières applications de la linguistique géographique aux langues bantoues*, 1942, Institut Royal Colonial Belge. Cet ouvrage ayant fait l'objet de critiques de la part de M. Malcolm Guthrie dans la revue *Africa*, 1945, pp. 220-1, M. L. Grootaers, professeur à l'Université de Louvain et qui y dirige des travaux de géographie linguistique, a fait publier une réplique dans le *Bulletin des Séances de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge*, 1945,

pp. 606-11.

² Ce travail est pour le moment avancé à tel point qu'une soixantaine de cartes couvrant environ 130.000 Km. carrés avec 370.000 habitants et représentant environ 700 parlers, sont élaborées.

³ Les deux villages au nord de Lisala qui sont marqués sur la carte comme n'ayant pas de prépréfixes sont des parlers soudanais, le Mondunga.



A. Les parlers à prépréfixes 'consonne plus voyelle'

Les parlers possédant des prépréfixes formés d'une consonne plus voyelle n'emploient ce genre de prépréfixe que devant des noms qui n'ont que deux syllabes — y compris le préfixe — et dont le préfix est autre que *n-*. Les noms à trois syllabes — y compris le préfixe — n'admettent jamais un prépréfixe. Les noms avec préfixe *n-* ont comme prépréfixe une simple voyelle.

Voici quelques noms du parler d'Akula, village situé sur la Mongala (environ 20° 11' long. est et 2° 22' lat. nord).

Parler d'Akula	Parlers voisins	Parler d'Akula	Parlers voisins
I <i>bolele</i> , homme	<i>lele</i>	<i>enkoko</i> , poule	<i>nkoko</i>
<i>liliyo</i> , œil	<i>liyo</i>	<i>embulu</i> , oiseau	<i>mbulu</i>
<i>bolole</i> , barbe	<i>lole</i>	<i>insopo</i> , ventre	<i>nsopo</i>
<i>lidzanga</i> , nez	<i>dzanga</i>	<i>engba</i> , chien	<i>ngba</i>
<i>momute</i> , huile de palme	<i>mute</i>	<i>ensu</i> , poisson	<i>nsu</i>
<i>mamana</i> , vin de palme	<i>mana</i>	<i>endako</i> , hutte	<i>ndako</i>
<i>lidzandza</i> , main	<i>dzandza</i>		
<i>momunu</i> , viande	<i>munu</i>	III <i>motema</i> , cœur	<i>motema</i>
<i>bobutu</i> , nuit	<i>butu</i>	<i>makila</i> , sang	<i>makila</i>
		<i>monoko</i> , bouche	<i>monoko</i>
II <i>inswe</i> , cheveux	<i>nswe</i>	<i>mabanga</i> , joue	<i>mabanga</i>
<i>inkiki</i> , sourcils	<i>nkiki</i>	<i>molinga</i> , fumée	<i>molinga</i>
<i>entolo</i> , poitrine	<i>ntolo</i>	<i>mabeke</i> , dos	<i>mabeke</i>
<i>entaba</i> , chèvre	<i>ntaba</i>	<i>eboko</i> , bras	<i>eboko</i>

Il y a çà et là quelques exceptions à ces règles; p.ex. les mots *omali*, femme; *oweli*, lune; *omoto*, homme, etc. qui n'ont qu'une voyelle comme prépréfixe.

Voici les villages qui possèdent ce genre de prépréfixe, et qui sont tous marqués sur la carte.

En territoire de Nouvel Anvers: Malundza.

En territoire de Budzala: Elema, Budzala, Ngunda du secteur des Ndolo; Likimi, Bodzungani, Bonzinga-Ngale, Bonzinga-Lisala, Mimbo-Bwati, Mimbo-Ngale du secteur de la Likimi; Bosanga du secteur Kuma-Motembo.

En territoire de Lisala: Akula, Bodeba, Mombangi, Mitoko, Dzongo, Bolombo, Diobo du secteur de Bombangi; Bombomela du secteur Gombe Sud-Ouest; Empesa du secteur Doko; Bomwangi, Ngonzi du secteur Lisala.

En territoire de Busu Dzanoa: Bombindo, Ukaturaka du secteur Mwenu; Lie, Budza-Lipoto du secteur Busu Dzanoa.

Dans tous ces parlers de village les prépréfixes sont sensiblement les mêmes; il y existe des différences dont les plus grandes sont *bolele* et *lolele*, homme masculin; *omoto* et *emoto*, homme.

B. Les parlers à prépréfixes à 'voyelle simple'

Un second groupe de parlers a des prépréfixes qui ne se composent que d'une voyelle. Les noms à deux syllabes — y compris le préfixe — y reçoivent une voyelle comme prépréfixe, voyelle qui est de la même nature que celle du préfixe. Les noms à trois syllabes — y compris le préfixe — ont perdu la consonne du préfixe.

Voici quelques noms du parler de Bonzerenge, secteur de la Dua :

I *olele*, homme masculin

omadi, femme

idiso, œil

idanga, nez

ekoko, poule

amana, vin de palme

ihopo, ventre

omunu, viande

efi, poisson

embudu, oiseau

II *olema*, cœur

akiya, sang

onoko, bouche

ogali, singe (*mogali* dans les autres parlers)

okongo, dos (*mokongo* dans les autres parlers)

Dans ces parlers donc tous les noms commencent par une voyelle. Voici les villages où nous avons trouvé ce genre de prépréfixes : tous sont situés dans le territoire de Lisala : Bonzerenge, secteur de la Dua ; Bombomba, Bomoi, Bombia du secteur de la Mongala ; Gumba, Ngale, Likasa, Bongambola, Boporo du secteur Gombe-Gumba ; Bokutu, Mabiya, Bongonde, Bongopa, Bengia du secteur Mombangi ; Lindombo, Bongombo, Popolo, Bwela, Babila, Mbelo, Ndeke, Ngwaka, Ngomba, Bodobu, Epate du secteur des Doko ; Bobala, Bolombo, Boswa, Bolongo, Bondaba, Botukwa, Dika, Bodzelenge, Kutu, Liweya du secteur de Lisala.

La forme qu'ont tous ces prépréfixes présente plusieurs particularités qui doivent être soulignées. Il y a d'abord le fait qu'ils sont composés parfois d'une consonne et d'une voyelle ; il y a ensuite le rôle que joue la structure syllabique des noms dans la sélection des prépréfixes. Il semble que c'est précisément la structure syllabique des noms qui a fait surgir ou garder — l'étude historique des prépréfixes reste encore à faire — les prépréfixes. Les parlers se sont même pris de plusieurs façons pour adapter les prépréfixes aux exigences de la structure syllabique, en y ajoutant des vocables (*mamana*, *inswe*) ou en laissant tomber un vocable (*akiya*, *onoko*).

Mais il y a dans le Congo-Ouest septentrional encore d'autres parlers qui ont parfois l'un ou l'autre nom précédé d'un prépréfixe. Ainsi dans le territoire de Bumba, quelques parlers Budza (des chefferies Bosanga, Bosambi et Manga e.a.), ont *ompele*, homme, tandis que les parlers voisins ont *mpele*. (On trouve *mompele* à l'embouchure de la Ngiri.) La même chose y arrive, quoique beaucoup moins, pour le mot *omali*, femme. Dans les territoires de Bomboma et de Nouvel-Anvers, notamment chez les Lobala et Likoka, nous avons trouvé les noms pour 'chien' et 'poisson' précédés du prépréfixe *i-* ; soit *imva* et *iswe*. Quoique ici il s'agisse bien de prépréfixes et que ces faits doivent aussi pouvoir être expliqués lors d'une étude systématique des prépréfixes en Afrique, on ne peut pas donner à ces parlers le nom de 'parlers à prépréfixes' comme on doit le faire pour les deux groupes de parlers cités plus haut. On peut cependant toujours retenir que les parlers des Lobala et Likoka font partie de la même 'zone linguistique' des soi-disant Bangala, que les 'parlers à prépréfixes' : ce que nous démontrons dans une autre étude.

Quant à l'emplacement des parlers possédant des prépréfixes : il y a d'abord une grande partie qui forment une région continue, un vrai bloc. Les autres parlers, situés en dehors de ce bloc, se trouvent le long des rivières, et sont donc des parlers de 'riverains'. Or les parlers du bloc principal, notamment le groupe A, possédant des

préfixes à consonne plus voyelle, sont les parlers Motembo et Mimbo; les parlers du groupe B sont employés par les soi-disant Doko. Mais les Motembo, les Mimbo et les Doko sont connus comme ayant des parlers qui présentent beaucoup d'affinité avec les parlers des gens 'riverains' de la contrée examinée; les Motembo sont même de vrais riverains. Il est donc assez normal qu'on trouve les parlers à préfixes situés en dehors du bloc principal tout juste chez des gens riverains.

Résumé

PRE-PREFIXES IN THE BANTU LANGUAGES OF THE NORTH-WEST BELGIAN CONGO

A GROUP of Bantu dialects in the northern Belgian Congo is characterized by the use of pre-prefixes formed either of a consonant and vowel or by the prefix from which the initial consonant has disappeared. The use of the pre-prefix seems to depend on the syllabic structure of the words. These dialects are spoken in a more or less continuous area which includes riverine peoples; the whole group has linguistic affinities with the 'linguistic zone' known as Bangala.

VERNACULAR ESSAY COMPETITION

As announced in *Africa*, vol. xvii. 4, 1947, a competition was organized in 1948-9 for short essays in the Temne, Lingala, Acholi, and Ewe languages. The number of entries for this competition was smaller than in previous years and of the entries received not very many reached a standard which, in the opinion of the judges, would qualify for a prize.

Of the essays received, 5 were in the Lingala language, 8 in the Ewe, one in Acholi. An additional essay in Ewe was a translation from the French and for this reason, and also on account of its subject-matter, was not considered eligible.

The judges recommended that prizes should be awarded as follows:

Lingala	Bokula Médard: <i>Moko Masapo Ma Baukolo</i>
Lingala	Mombungu Camille: <i>Fofolo Malole Na Ndoi W'a</i>
Ewe	B. S. Gadzekpo: <i>Nusi ku nye le Anto</i>
Ewe	Dominic N. Akumeh: <i>Duivo Fe nganyi</i>

The judges reported that the prize-winning essays showed definite literary ability and in one case at least merited publication. It is hoped, therefore, that their authors will be encouraged to further efforts.

The second section of the competition, that for longer essays in Wolof or Mandingo, Yao, and Tswana, will be reported on at a later date.

Notes and News

III^e Conférence Internationale des Africanistes de l'Ouest

THE Third Session of the C.I.A.O. (International West African Scientific Conference) was held in Nigeria from 12 to 21 December 1949 at the invitation of the Nigerian Government and of the University College of West Africa, Ibadan, which generously provided accommodation and acted as host during the earlier part of the proceedings.

The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Governor, Sir John Macpherson, K.C.M.G., in the Assembly Hall of the University College, when associateships of the newly founded University College were conferred on His Excellency, on Professor Théodore Monod, Director of I.F.A.N., the initiator and Permanent Secretary of the Conference, and on Professor Daryll Forde, a founding member of the Permanent Committee and Director of the International African Institute.

The Conference was attended by about 100 delegates, including, in addition to large representation from the technical and education departments in Nigeria, visitors from the various branches of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, from the Institut d'Études Centrafricaines (Brazzaville), the Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa (Bissau), the Instituto de Estudios Africanos and the Government of Spanish Guinea, the University College of the Gold Coast, the International African Institute, the Institute of Colonial Administration, Oxford, and the Ethnological Department of the British Museum, London.

Three full days were devoted to the presentation and discussion of papers and the demonstration of material, during which the Conference was organized in three sections concerned respectively with (a) geological, geographical and cartographical, (b) biological and (c) social and ethnological fields. An exhibition of Nigerian Bronzes and other art prepared by Mr. K. C. Murray, Surveyor of Antiquities, was opened by H.E. the Governor. A number of famous bronzes were lent by Chiefs who attended the opening ceremony of the Conference and by museums. These included the Tsoede figures from Jebba, lent by the Emir of Bida, the Ife bronzes lent by the Oni of Ife, and the Ejubaj'auilo lent by the Atta of Idah. Demonstrations of the collection were given by Mr. Kenneth Murray during the Conference, and Nigerian art was further discussed in papers presented at the Conference.

Subjects dealt with in the various sections of the Conference included: the use of air surveys (with particular reference to the Nigerian tin-fields); pedological studies in West Africa; principles affecting wild animal preservation in West Africa; practical classifications of West African vegetation, with reference to the projected atlas of West Africa; experimental studies concerning the physiological classification of West African climates; recent work on insect vectors of malaria, yellow fever, and sleeping-sickness; ecological and other investigations related to productivity and diseases of economic plants; social problems of urbanization; the development of new religious cults in connexion with social change in West Africa; the role of secret societies among West African peoples; the techniques and social significance of West African art.

At a plenary session discussion of the need and opportunity for the preparation of a comprehensive atlas of West Africa was continued from the previous session at Bissao in December 1947. Professor Th. Monod presented for discussion a list of proposed sheets, and it was agreed that negotiations should go forward with governments, technical departments, and individual experts in an endeavour to prepare a comprehensive atlas with series of plates on appropriate scales covering all West Africa and including geological, climatological, biological, social, and economic data. Provisional publication of separate sheets of

the proposed atlas as they became available was generally supported. Inquiries and suggestions concerning this project should be addressed to Professor Th. Monod (Directeur, I.F.A.N., Dakar, A.O.F.).

Following the working meetings at Ibadan, the Conference moved to Jos in Northern Nigeria, from which field parties of the several sections were able, thanks to the admirable preparations organized by Mr. Bernard Fagg, Antiquities Officer of the Government of Nigeria, to visit, during three days, a number of sites and installations of special interest. The Human Sciences party, for which a field camp was provided at Nok in South Zaria Province, was able to study the stratigraphy and latest finds of both palaeolithic and prehistoric figurine cultures on the Plateau, to make an ethnographic reconnaissance among the Kaleri and Jaba, and to have demonstrated the existence of figure carving and masked dances of men's associations among these Northern peoples. Opportunity was also provided during the Conference for visits to the Nigerian Agricultural Headquarters, Moor Plantation near Ibadan, to Ife in Northern Oyo Division, the traditional centre of the Yoruba people, and to various places of interest in and around Ibadan.

The success of the Conference, as delegates fully recognized, was largely due to the untiring efforts of Mr. K. C. Murray, Mr. B. Fagg, and other members of the Local Organizing Committee in securing accommodation, transport and other facilities, and in organizing the programme.

Philosophical Society of the Sudan

THE society, which was founded in 1946, to promote discussion and research in moral, political, and natural philosophy, has held twenty-one meetings and four field days during the sessions 1946-7 and 1947-8. Among the papers read was one by Mr. A. J. Arkell on 'Suggestions for lines of research in the Sudan', one by Dr. D. Dunham on 'The history of the Sudan from 800 B.C.-A.D. 350 as disclosed by excavation'; other subjects discussed included forestry research, archaeological excavation at Khartoum, climate and building design, and the development of communications. It is intended that the Proceedings of the Society shall eventually be published in a permanent form; meanwhile abridged proceedings containing abstracts of papers delivered are published annually.

Phelps-Stokes Fund

THE thirty-five year report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, published in 1948,¹ includes an historical account of the development of the work of the Fund, and sketches of outstanding personalities in the Fund's history, notably the founder, Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes.

In accordance with the wishes of the founder, the Fund's principal activities have been in the field of education and have been directed both to developing education for negroes in the United States and in Africa and to stimulating the study of the negro and his needs. Ancillary to these main purposes, the Fund has assisted the development of the South African Institute of Race Relations, has worked for the improvement of negro housing conditions in New York, and has organized and stimulated various movements in the interests of negro progress both in Africa and the United States.

One chapter of the report describes the special contributions made by Dr. Jesse Jones to the policy of the Fund, in particular his insistence on the necessity for acquiring a thorough factual basis before attempting the solution of any problem, and his conviction of the importance of inter-racial co-operation and of the special significance of rural life and agriculture.

¹ *Negro Status and Race Relations in the United States*, Phelps-Stokes Fund, N.Y., 1948, pp. 219, index. \$1.50.

An account of the progress of negro status during the past thirty-five years gives statistics relating to educational, economic, and religious progress in the U.S.A., and refers to improvements in the status and conditions of Africans in colonial territories in Africa; the special factors which have been mainly operative in recent developments are analysed under the categories of action by Governments, Educational Institutions, Foundations, Churches, Negro Service Associations, Publications, and Press. The chief obstacles in the way of further progress are described as ignorance on the part of whites, and extreme racism—both white and negro.

A section on the Racial Situation in Bantu Africa is contributed by Senator Rheinallt Jones.

International Conferences on Land Problems in Africa

Two conferences were held at Jos, Nigeria, in November 1949, one to discuss land utilization and one concerned with indigenous rural economy. The first was a British conference under the Chairmanship of the Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, at which representatives of France, Belgium, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, the United States, Southern Rhodesia, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, were present as observers. The conference appointed five committees, whose findings were discussed at a plenary session; the systematic survey of soils in development areas was recommended, as well as the introduction of advanced methods of agriculture, and the formation of groups of peasant farmers to be established on unoccupied land under conditions favourable to the practice of good husbandry.

The International Conference on Indigenous Rural Economy was organized jointly by the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia. It recommended the wider dissemination and exchange of information on such subjects as water control, methods of food storage, processing of products within village communities, use of mechanical implements and artificial fertilizers, and the breeding of suitable grass strains. It also advocated the establishment of co-operative societies, and the emphasizing of crafts, industries, and agriculture in schools' curricula, and recorded the need for more research in the field of microbiology.

Semaines Sociales de France

LA XXXVII^e Semaine Sociale se tiendrait à Nantes du mardi 18 au dimanche 23 juillet. Elle traitera du 'Monde rural dans l'économie moderne'. Pour tous renseignements, s'adresser au Secrétariat Général des Semaines Sociales, 16 rue du Plat, Lyon 2, France.

East African Institute of Social Studies, Makerere, Uganda

DR. AUDREY I. RICHARDS, M.A., PH.D., Reader in Anthropology at the University of London and a senior member of the staff of the London School of Economics, has accepted the post of Director of the East African Institute of Social Studies and has recently taken up residence at Makerere.

Members of the Institute and readers of this journal will be well acquainted with Dr. Richards' gifts and attainments and her lively interest in African affairs. We are happy to record our appreciation of the many services she has rendered to this Institute as member of its Executive Council and of the Ethnographic Survey Committee, as contributor to *Africa*, and as a friend and supporter of long standing. Our good wishes for her success in this important post go with her.

International Conference on Co-operation in Africa

A CONFERENCE to discuss means of co-ordinating the work of technical experts in Africa south of the Sahara, was held in Paris in January. It was attended by representatives of the Belgian, French, Portuguese, South African, Southern Rhodesian and United Kingdom governments, and was the latest of a series of conferences which have been held in Paris, London, Brussels, and Lisbon during the last four years. This international co-operation has resulted in the establishment of a number of joint bureaux to deal with problems such as sleeping-sickness, rinderpest, soil erosion, and the spread of plant pests and diseases.

*Mass Education Bulletin*¹

The first number of a periodical review of mass education was issued in December 1949 by the Mass Education Clearing House, London. The Colonial Office Mass Education (Community Development) Committee and the Colonial Department of the University of London Institute of Education have collaborated to establish a clearing house and bulletin, with the aim of gathering up the experience of all who have worked on various schemes of mass literacy, community development, and fundamental education in various parts of the world, and sharing the fruits among all who wish to do such work in future. The *Bulletin* will give accounts of such schemes and describe in detail the techniques used. The first number includes an editorial by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and a survey of Mass Education in British African colonies. A similar clearing house and bulletin have been established by U.N.E.S.C.O., and the two organizations will work in close collaboration.

The Bamangwato

THE Ngwato tribe, whose chieftainship is again in dispute, are, with a population of about 110,000, the largest of the eight tribes in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Their Reserve, in the north-east part of the country, about 40,000 square miles in extent, contains much waterless land and the bulk of the population live in the fertile eastern strip on both sides of the Bulawayo-Mafeking railway. The tribal capital, Serowe, has some 25,000 inhabitants, but there are many outlying settlements of less than 100 people each. There are about three head of cattle and three more of small stock per head of the population. The low rainfall, about 15 inches a year, necessitates dispersal of cattle and fields. Adolescent boys tend the cattle at isolated posts throughout the year, while the rest of the population scatter from November to June to live near their fields of sorghum and maize. Animals and crops provide food, but cereals are imported every year from Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. Trade goods, such as clothes and blankets, also come from the Union. Some cattle are sold but the principal source of money income is migrant labour in the Union, and estimates for 1938-40 give 26 per cent. of all adult males as away from home. About 400 Europeans live in the Reserve, the men working as administrators, missionaries, railway employees, traders and blacksmiths. There are no Indians.

The Ngwato proper, descendants of the founder of the tribe, who almost all live at Serowe, make up only one-fifth of the population. The rest of the chieftdom comprises about sixteen communities of different ethnic origin, who have joined the tribe by conquest, voluntary submission, in flight from an invading enemy, or by secession from other tribes. Some, like the Ngwato themselves, belong to the Tswana (Western Sotho) cluster of Bantu-speakers. Others belong to the Northern Sotho cluster or to clusters centred on Southern Rhodesia, North-western Rhodesia and South-West Africa. There are about 10,000 Sarwa Bushmen. All have enjoyed a great deal of cultural autonomy and have their own hereditary

¹ *Mass Education Bulletin*, vol. i, No. 1, Dec. 1949. Mass Education Clearing House, Colonial Department, University of London Institute of Education, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1. Pp. 19.

leaders. Membership of the tribe is patrilineal, but they are not endogamous and many of the leaders are linked by marriage to the Ngwato royal line.

The basic non-exogamous residential unit, the ward, contains family groups centred on most of the men and a few of the women of a patrilineage of four to six generations' depth. It may also contain dependent family groups not necessarily related but usually of the same ethnic community as the dominant group. There are about 235 wards, 113 of them being at the capital. The remainder either form isolated hamlets or are grouped into villages. There are about 170 villages, varying in size from under 100 people to about 2,000.

There are eight districts—territorial divisions based on geographical convenience and on the ethnic homogeneity of the wards they contain. Each district has a resident Ngwato governor and an Ngwato ward-head representing it at the capital. The grouping of wards into four sections cuts across this district organization, so that there are wards of different ethnic and district affiliations in the same section. Each section has some of its wards at the capital, built there in the area allocated to the section.

Ngwato nobles, descendants of former chiefs, fall into two categories. Those descended from the father's father's father of the present chief do not participate actively in the sectional organization, but all others do so, and the senior noble ward-head in this category is, in each section, one of its judges. The other section judge is the Ngwato commoner head of the ward round which the section was originally formed. In outlying districts the hierarchy of tribunals for settling disputes is as follows: those presided over by the head of the family group, ward-head, village head, leader of the ethnic community, district governor respectively. At the capital, disputes pass from Ngwato ward-heads to the section judges, and from non-Ngwato ward-heads to the leader of the ethnic community and thence to the section judges. All disputes can eventually be referred to the Chief. All hearings, at whatever level, are held in public and any tribesman can take part in the discussion of the case. The chieftainship, like every other headship in the society, is hereditary in the male line, passing normally to the eldest son. The Chief is assisted by advisers, whom he selects informally from among his brothers, father's brothers, headmen of important wards and other devoted personal friends. He calls meetings of headmen to discuss public issues, while affairs of major importance are discussed at meetings of all tribesmen.

In the past chiefs loaned cattled to commoners on whose loyalty they could then depend, for within the royal house there have been many factions. Sekgoma I, after ousting his elder brother from the throne (1835), was himself ousted (1872) by his own son Kgama III, the first Christian chief. Kgama quarrelled with and banished a brother and two half-brothers. His heir Sekgoma II also had designs on the throne and was banished for twenty years. Kgama relied for support on his daughter's husband Ratshosa. When Sekgoma returned and succeeded Kgama on the latter's death (1923) he was persuaded to banish Phethu, son of one of Kgama's banished half-brothers. Sekgoma II died in 1926 and his heir Seretse was too young to take up the chieftainship. Sekgoma's brother Tshekedi became regent, and Phethu, who had been pardoned, encouraged him to act against the Ratshosa group. They retaliated by attempting to kill Tshekedi, and were imprisoned and banished. Later there was an attempt to claim the chieftainship for an illegitimate son of Sekgoma, a petition by several nobles against Tshekedi's rule, and an open breach between Tshekedi and a noble family descended from another half-brother of Kgama III.¹

¹ See also the following studies by Professor I. Schapera: (a) 'The Political Organization of the Ngwato of Bechuanaland Protectorate', in M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems*, London, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. 56-82; (b) *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, Alice, Lovedale Press, 1943; (c) *Tribal Legislation among the Tswana of Bechuanaland Protectorate. A study in the Mechanism of Culture Change* (London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 9), London, Lund Humphries, 1943; (d) *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, London, Oxford University Press, 1947.

Reviews of Books

The Bantu of North Kavirondo, Volume I. By GÜNTER WAGNER. Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press: London, 1949. Pp. xx+ 511. 45s.

DR. GÜNTER WAGNER, as a research fellow of the International African Institute from 1934 to 1938, spent in all some thirty months in field work in the region of East Africa known as Kavirondo and lying north-east of Lake Victoria. His work was confined to the Bantu-speaking tribes of the North Kavirondo District, who occupy an area of 2,684 square miles and number over 300,000. His ethnographic account of these peoples is to be presented in three volumes, of which the first has now appeared. It is characterized by extreme thoroughness in the detailed accounts of native life and custom.

After some introductory pages on the country and the people and the history of European penetration, Dr. Wagner gives a clear and very useful account of the social structure based on the family, lineage and clans, and kinship. More detailed discussion of the various institutions connected with this basic structure is postponed to the second volume which will deal with economics and law.

Part II, which is headed 'The Magico-Religious', takes up 200 pages. Dr. Wagner follows the example of some other anthropologists in refusing to attempt any exact discrimination between 'religion' and 'magic', writing that 'the wide range of magical and religious notions and practices that exist among the Bantu Kavirondo are interrelated in such a way that the nature of each will best be discerned by examining them jointly'. To characterize magico-religious phenomena he adopts the term 'mystical' as used by Evans-Pritchard in his study of Zande. He offers justification for his decision 'to discuss magical and religious phenomena jointly as constituting one integral system of beliefs and practices'. He recognizes that in presenting his material as constituting a system this 'involves the danger of introducing arbitrary principles of classification, of distinguishing types and categories of beliefs and practices that are irrelevant to the native mind or, worse still, of tearing apart what from his point of view forms an integral unit'. To avoid this danger he endeavours 'to adapt the system of presentation as closely as possible to the native manner of classifying the magico-religious phenomena', and to this end he makes systematic use of the terms used by the natives themselves.

To the reviewer it seems that Dr. Wagner has been highly successful in presenting a mass of details as to beliefs and practices that may be all described as involving 'mystical' modes of thought in such a way that they can be perceived as a coherent system of thought and action. The observed facts are arranged under three major headings. The first is 'Agents and forces believed to exercise a mystical influence over human welfare', and under this he makes five subdivisions, (1) ordinary people possessing and handling public active magic, (2) persons and animals in a state of ritual impurity, (3) specialists, using 'white' or 'black' magic, including the rain magician, (4) the spirits of the dead, and (5) the Supreme Being. His second major heading is 'Measures of protection and prevention', and the third is 'The taking of counter-measures and the appeal to higher authorities' under which he includes the cult of the ancestors and of the Supreme Being. This unified treatment of what it was at one time usual to distinguish as magic and religion, although there was no general agreement as to the precise distinction to be made between them, deserves the careful attention of all anthropologists, not only of those interested in Africa.

Part III of the present volume (pp. 295-503) deals in detail with customs of all kinds connected with birth, with circumcision and initiation, with marriage, and with death and

mourning. A good example of the thoroughness with which Dr. Wagner has carried out his investigations is provided by the systematic account of what the author speaks of as the 'complex set of notions relating to the choice of a marriage partner', including both the regulations (of exogamy, &c.) which forbid marriage between certain persons and groups, and also personal considerations which affect the arrangement of an alliance.

When publication is complete Dr. Wagner's book will be certainly one of the most complete and thorough ethnographic accounts of an African people. Although it is essentially descriptive the systematic way in which the various features of the social life are presented makes it very definitely a scientific contribution to the understanding of the interconnexion between the different aspects of social life.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. By E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. v+240. Maps and illustrations. 25s.

FOUNDED in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Sanusiya fraternity is one of the youngest orders of Islam. Though it spread widely through North Africa, the Sahara, and to Arabia it maintained a coherent organization and achieved political power only among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica. These in turn, though they had come under the influence also of many other religious leaders and Moslem sects, gave their full allegiance only to the Sanusiya and to the dynasty of its founder. This double link is attributed to two factors. First, the Sanusiya order became identified with the typical life of the nomads; more precisely, it came to be so identified because its organization, loosely centralized and operating through lodges scattered through the various tribal sections, both mirrored the tribal system with its divided loyalties and imparted to it a measure of cohesion it formerly lacked. Secondly, the Sanusiya discourages the fervent mysticism and the ecstatic forms of worship typical of most other Moslem orders: and while such demonstrative practices are 'dear to the common man in the towns', they are 'uncongenial, even repellent, to the Bedouin' (p. 88). Characteristically, the author points out, they have made 'no converts among the true Bedouin' (p. 5). I would question this statement, having myself encountered precisely such ecstatic practices among the nomadic Orfella of Tripolitania. Nor can I see much force in the summary argument that the Sanusi creed is, 'like the Bedouin character, austere without being fanatical' (p. 10).

The first thesis is convincing and suggestive of an important general principle, namely, that societies like these Bedouin groups, 'socially and morally secure in their tribal and kinship systems', will yet, at some stage, feel the 'need' of some external authority that would 'bind the tribes and tribal sections together within an organization and under a common symbol' (p. 88). Unfortunately, the analysis of Bedouin society is sketchy; nor are we told much about their religious practice, save that it has probably been little affected by Sanusi teaching (pp. 62-4). These lacunae may well be due to the exigencies of publication which forced the author to reduce his book to half the projected length. As it stands, two-thirds of the book are devoted to a detailed historical account of Turkish and Italian rule in Cyrenaica and of the military operations in the Italo-Sanusi wars. Evans-Pritchard, incidentally, frequently emphasizes that in these wars the Italians behaved much as did other colonial powers in similar circumstances: Italy had only 'waited too long, till the tide of colonial expansion was turning and the right of Europeans to rob native peoples of their lands was beginning to be challenged' (p. 211). Surely this is only half the truth. The moral anachronism of the Italian conquest of Libya apart, its ruthless conduct, with all the up-to-date machinery of concentration camps and total warfare, and especially its aftermath of carefully planned suppression, have few parallels even in the 'bad old days' of unscrupulous Imperialism.

S. F. NADEL

Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland 1888. Edited by CONSTANCE E. FRIPP and V. W. HILLIER. Oppenheimer series, No. 4. London: Chatto & Windus, 1949. Pp. 246. Maps and illustrations. 25s.

THIS volume maintains the high standard set by the previous editor and the publishers of the Oppenheimer series. It comprises two sets of original documents housed by the Central African archives: first, the journal of Bishop Knight-Bruce (1888) edited by Mrs. Fripp; and second, the journal of Charles Dunell Rudd (1888) edited by V. W. Hillier, the archivist. Dr. Knight-Bruce, then Bishop of Bloemfontein and afterwards the first Bishop of Southern Rhodesia, went to explore the possibilities of an Anglican mission in Mashonaland. The London Missionary Society was already established among the Matebele and he would not trespass upon their field but sought one hitherto untouched by Christian enterprise. It is pleasant to read of the cordial relations between him and the London mission families. He had received the blessing of the Society before starting and later he wrote: 'Nothing can be nicer than the intense cordiality of the London missionaries about my journey. . . . The admirable London missionary at Iniati had lent me his own waggon for my whole journey; this is certainly the greatest act of kindness that I have met with in Africa.' The journal begins on 23 May at Emkanwini, one of Lobengula's kraals near Bulawayo, where, after the usual annoying delays, he obtained the Chief's permission to enter Mashonaland; but he received no encouragement to settle there: Lobengula was averse to letting his subject peoples have the teaching that he did not welcome for the Matebele. The Bishop set out by ox-wagon towards Zumbo on the Zambezi and when he reached the Hunyani river he left the wagon there and proceeded with carriers and donkeys. He had with him three Christian Africans, to whose fidelity he pays high tribute, and engaged carriers to go from place to place. These men tried the Bishop's temper to the utmost by their extortions and dilatoriness and desertions: 'I feel as though nothing could ever so try my temper again; it is admirable education.' From the Zambezi the Bishop travelled south, rejoined his wagon and went on to Spiro on the Rusawi river; and then through Mtigeza's and Chilimanzi westwards to Inyati and so back to Bulawayo. There he found all the people in an excited state owing to the arrival of Rudd and company and other white men. There was talk of the Matebele moving *en masse* across the Zambezi into the Batonga country: a fleet of canoes was said to be building to convey them across. The Bishop received Lobengula's permission to leave the country and departed with the conviction that no missionary effort was at present possible in Mashonaland, and that Lobengula was quite opposed to any European settlement there. Mrs. Fripp warns us that 'the modern knowledge of anthropology and psychology was not open to him. He judged them [the Africans] and their ways of thought (so far as he could make out the latter) from a purely Victorian stand-point.' His early estimate of the Mashona was influenced, and somewhat warped, by the shameful conduct of his carriers: later he added a note to his journal: 'I think that I can judge them more fairly now that I am away from them than when suffering from their way of acting towards travellers. With all their faults they are a pleasanter people to deal with than the Matebele.' He carried away with him strong feelings of indignation on account of the cruelties of the Matebele treatment of the Mashona and saw no remedy but the intervention of Britain. The granting of powers of government to a commercial company was not what he had hoped for: but since the British government would not take the country under their direct protection the Charter was 'the next best thing'. On his return to the south he vehemently attacked the giving of European arms to the Matebele: 'Such a piece of devilry and brutality as a consignment of rifles to the Matebele cannot be surpassed.' This perturbed Cecil Rhodes, for the Rudd concession was obtained on a promise of a thousand rifles and a hundred thousand rounds of ball cartridge. The Bishop had the Mashona in mind when he denounced such an action. A letter from Rhodes to Rudd is printed on p. 222 in which he said: 'You need fear bishop

of Bloemfontein no longer, he made a slip at Vryburg . . . but he has repented.' And later he wrote to Rudd: 'Getting guns through has been no joke. Shippard has behaved like a brick I think the Governor is a little funky after that brutal assault by the Bishop at Vryburg.'

The second part of the book contains Rudd's journal during the time he was travelling north with Maguire and Thompson and while they were negotiating with Lobengula for the concession of mineral rights. 'The importance of the account, hastily written without any pretensions to literary style, lies in its being the only full, first-hand, contemporary record of the journey and negotiations.' Excepting certain extracts it has never before been published. It took six weeks of parleying to persuade Lobengula to set his mark to the concession in the presence of C. D. Helm of the London Missionary Society and J. G. Dreyer, the party's wagon-driver. Mr. Helm added a note certifying that the document had been fully interpreted and explained to the chief and his indunas: he himself was the interpreter, and he lived to regret it. He and his colleague, W. A. Elliott, lamented that the document was drafted in too general terms and they testified that promises were given verbally which were not put in writing; e.g. that the grantees would not bring more than ten white men to work in Lobengula's country, that they would not dig anywhere near towns and that they would abide by his laws and, in fact, be as his people. With the consent of his Council Lobengula granted complete and exclusive control over all metals and minerals in his territory together with full power to do all things deemed necessary by the grantees to win and procure the same. 'Our concession is so gigantic', wrote Cecil Rhodes, 'it is like giving a man the whole of Australia.' Rudd wrote in his journal: 'A great deal of course passed at the *indaba* that I cannot put down, the most noteworthy being that Thompson and I, after they showed weakness, explained fully to them their own position and pointed out how they must be driven out of their country if they did not get friends and arms in to help them, and this many of them seemed to understand and looked very serious over.' Rudd rushed away immediately Lobengula had affixed his mark. Near Palapye he and his driver went astray and almost perished of thirst. Seemingly thinking his end was come, he pushed his papers and specie (£3,000) into an ant-bear hole, whence they were later recovered, and Rudd survived to hand over the precious document upon the basis of which Rhodes received his Charter. The original document has been missing for a very long time, ever since (rumour has it) it was 'mis-laid in a taxi-cab in London'. The journal, the letters accompanying it, and Mr. Hiller's introduction are welcome contributions to the history of Rhodesia. I would challenge Mr. Hiller's statement that the establishment of a protectorate over Bechuanaland must be attributed to Cecil Rhodes's 'ceaseless efforts'. On the contrary, if he had had his way, Bechuanaland would have been swallowed up by the Chartered Company.

EDWIN W. SMITH

The Copper Miners of Musina and the early history of the Zoutpansberg. (Ed.) N. J. VAN WARMEMELO. 1940. Pp. 201, 8 plates. 5s.

The Izangoma Diviners. By M. KOHLER, M.D. (Edited and translated in collaboration with the author by N. J. van Warmelo) 1941. Pp. 98, 12 plates. 4s.

Pretoria: Dept. of Native Affairs (Ethnological Publications, Vols. VIII and IX).

THESE two publications consist of vernacular texts and their English translations, with introductions and a few other short contributions by the editors.

In *The Copper Miners of Musina* we are given a selection of the traditional history of the Venda and neighbouring peoples in the Zoutpansberg region; the subject-matter ranging from clan genealogies to the story of how the VhaSenzi and the VhaLemba came down from the North. There is also a section by Dr. van Warmelo on Tshitwamamba, or Tshixwamamba, 'a language hitherto unknown to science' (p. 7), resembling Karanga and now nearly extinct, and texts dealing with the pre-European copper-miners of these parts. In this

volume are three of the essays submitted in the International African Institute's Venda literary competition, including E. Mudau's prize-winning essay on the drum Ngoma-lungundu and the coming of the VhaSenzi, with its fascinating resemblances to parts of the Old Testament. A discussion of these resemblances and their possible causes occupies much of Dr. van Warmelo's introduction.

It is open to doubt whether the material in this volume does 'serve to outline the complicated history of this wide area' except to one who already knows a great deal about this particular region. But it certainly tells us much about that history, and raises several points which might repay fuller investigation. It cannot be denied that these fast-disappearing traditions should be preserved and that, being written by the people themselves, they have a value quite different from that of a balanced study written by a trained ethnographer. Some social anthropologists may wish that we could have had a little more from Dr. van Warmelo even, if necessary, at the cost of slightly fewer texts. It is arguable whether, in view of the relatively few ethnological publications coming from the Union Department of Native Affairs, such collections of texts as the two reviewed here are really quite the best way of informing us about the people in their care.

The Izangoma Diviners deals with the making of diviners in Zululand and their later activities, the texts having been taken down from patients in Dr. Kohler's hospital. The subject is one about which it is extremely difficult to obtain accurate information, owing largely to the European authorities' not unnatural disapproval of diviners and all their works. The texts tell us much about the psychic life of the modern Zulu, including one first-hand account of a novice-diviner's 'Great Dream', this dream being the most important point in the initiation of an *izangoma*. Psychologists, and others, may also find much of value in the case-histories, coupled with the patients' own letters and diagnoses, which appear at the end of the volume. The drawings by Gerard Bhengu, which are in themselves enough to recommend this volume, most certainly do help to make the texts live.

The information contained in both these publications was not easy to come by. Dr. van Warmelo mentions the great difficulty in finding reliable informants in the Zoutpansberg, while in Dr. Kohler's case, although the number of possible informants is generally believed to have increased greatly since the coming of White rule, they have hitherto shown a marked reluctance to discuss the details of their profession. Both Dr. van Warmelo and Dr. Kohler are to be congratulated on being so successful in their difficult task. These two publications will undoubtedly have a value as source-books for future research. Perhaps one can sum up best by quoting Dr. van Warmelo's own words from the introduction to *The Izangoma Diviners*: 'But the collection has a value peculiarly its own, inasmuch as it presents the natives' own version of the matter. I believe that in preserving their own point of view one is avoiding a major source of anxiety to the anthropologist today, namely the anxiety that perhaps he is studying and collecting the wrong thing. But the very words of primitive man, talking about himself, are a source which can never lose its value.'

A. J. B. HUGHES

The Population of Tanganyika. By DR. IRENE TAEUBER. Reports on the Population of Trust Territories, No. 2. United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, New York, 1949. Pp. 151, 1\$; London: H.M.S.O. 7s. 6d.

THIS report has been prepared by the Office of Population Research of Princeton University and is a painstaking attempt to assess the value—prior to the censuses of 1948—of existing records. As these were incomplete and were generally admitted to be approximate only, because of the difficulties of obtaining exact statistics of primitive communities, one is driven to ask why the report was published before the full details of the 1948 censuses were available. The authors attempt to disarm criticism when they write:

'It is obvious that the present report, written prior to the availability of the results of these censuses of 1948, is tentative and somewhat premature. The data procured through the recent enumerations will be relatively current and, whatever their deficiencies, they will be more comprehensive in scope than anything hitherto available for Tanganyika. Moreover, the experience procured in these censuses will permit a more careful assessment of the difficulties involved in collecting statistics and the limitations to the statistics that can be collected. The present report thus becomes historical background and analytical preface to the report that will be issued when the complete and analysed returns of the African and the non-African censuses of 1948 are published.'

But nowhere in the report are reasons given for publishing now a report which will have to be very largely rewritten in the light of the detailed information provided by the 1948 censuses: it will not be possible to treat the report as an 'analytical preface' and merely to tack on the latest figures and analyses.

This said, however, it must be admitted that this is as good a presentation of demographic problems in Tanganyika as can be expected from workers who, it would seem from internal evidence, have never been in the country and who have had to use widely scattered and often inaccurate and inconclusive data. The report is singularly free from the kind of inaccuracies to which one has grown accustomed in these circumstances: there are only a few mis-spelt place-names and minor errors of this nature. The major conclusion to which the authors come, rejecting the opinion of some local investigators, is that the African population has been increasing during the period since the First World War. Firm support for this view is provided by the census returns now available, which show the African population as being 7,332,539 (not 7,004,000 as was at first reported), whereas in 1931 it was assessed at 5,023,000. While inaccuracies of assessment or enumeration may later show that the yearly rate of increase is less than the 2 per cent. here indicated, it is clear that the population is increasing, and at a not inconsiderable rate.

The report as it now stands will be of interest mainly to students of demography: it would have had a wider appeal, and served a more useful purpose, had its publication been delayed until it could have been completely rewritten in the light of the information now available.

J. P. MOFFETT

La Langue secrète des Dogon de Sanga. Par MICHEL LEIRIS. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris, tome LX. Paris, 1948. Pp. xxxii+530. 1000 fr.

A LA liste déjà longue des publications faites par les membres des missions qu'a dirigées et dirige encore M. le Professeur Griaule au Soudan français, vient de s'ajouter une étude de M. Michel Leiris: *La langue secrète des Dogon de Sanga*. Cet ouvrage rassemble une série de textes recueillis par l'auteur chez cette population des falaises de Bandiagara; textes en langue du *sigi*, langue liturgique employé par la société des masques dite *awa*. C'est dans ce langage ésotérique que se transmettent et s'expriment les formules rituelles accompagnant les diverses cérémonies où les membres de l'*awa* jouent un rôle. L'auteur s'est ainsi trouvé amené à exposer les différents éléments du rituel dogon: les rites de la cérémonie du *sigi*, qu'itous les soixante ans marque le renouvellement du grand masque représentant le premier ancêtre mort, ainsi que l'initiation des nouveaux dignitaires de la société *awa*; puis les rites funéraires, qui comportent les obsèques (sacrifices au grand masque, oraison funèbre, adieu au mort) et la levée du deuil (*dama*) dont le but est d'éloigner l'âme du défunt du monde des vivants. Un troisième chapitre est enfin consacré à divers rites de purification, d'offrandes et de divination, ainsi qu'à quelques devinettes en langue du *sigi*. Une introduction concernant la société des hommes et les caractères généraux de la langue du *sigi* précède l'exposé de ces rites, et des textes en langue secrète qui les accompagnent (textes donnés en notation phonétique, en traduction juxtalinéaire et en traduction française libre). Mais la partie la

plus importante de l'ouvrage est un Essai de grammaire sigui, complétée par un vocabulaire sigui-français; c'est elle qui constitue l'apport nouveau fait par M. Leiris aux recherches concernant les Dogon du Niger, et cette mise au point philologique et linguistique des textes en *sigiso* recueillis par les missions de M. le Professeur Griaule s'imposait depuis longtemps. Les rapprochements faits en particulier avec d'autres langues Ouest-africaines tendent à montrer, selon l'auteur, que la langue de la société des masques n'est pas une création arbitraire, et que du point de vue de la phonétique, comme de celui de la morphologie et de la syntaxe, elle s'apparente aux langues du groupe dit 'nigéro-sénégalais'. La partie comparative du vocabulaire sigui-français elle aussi est instructive et la forte proportion d'éléments voltaïques qu'elle révèle amène M. Leiris à voir une certaine corrélation entre l'institution dogon des masques et les traditions voltaïques. Mais on peut justement regretter que la description des masques et l'exposé des institutions dogon, déjà faits dans de nombreuses publications, prennent souvent dans l'étude de M. Leiris la place du travail philologique attendu; car ces institutions, décrites déjà dans les *Masques dogon* de M. le Professeur Griaule, dans *L'Organisation sociale des Dogon* de Mme D. Paulme, dans *Les âmes des Dogon* de Mme G. Dieterlen, en particulier, apparaissent à la lumière des plus récentes recherches sensiblement plus complexes et plus profondes qu'elles ne semblaient à l'époque des premières missions en 1935. De nombreuses conceptions cosmogoniques et cosmologiques, théogoniques et théologiques, voire psychologiques ou astronomiques, recueillies au cours des dernières enquêtes, précisent et approfondissent ce que le mythe en langue du *sigi* publié dans les *Masques dogon* évoque brièvement; pour précises et détaillées qu'elles soient, les notes qu'ajoute M. Leiris aux fragments qu'il a repris dans son étude apparaissent ainsi souvent insuffisantes en regard de l'importance des questions qu'elles soulèvent à nouveau. Cela ne diminue en rien d'ailleurs l'importance du travail linguistique et philologique accompli par M. Leiris, ni celle de toutes les données nouvelles qu'il apporte sur les caractères même de la langue secrète des Dogon: son rôle dans la société des hommes (rôle sacré, et rôle profane en tant que langue de sexe, d'âge et d'occupation), son mode de formation par mélanges et emprunts, sa stylistique (qui manifeste le caractère rythmique et poétique de ce langage), ses rapports avec la notion d'*awa*, dominée par le double thème tragique de la chose ancienne et vénérable d'une part, ardente et sanglante d'autre part, tout à la fois ancestrale et mortelle.

J. C. PAUVERT

Travels in Ethiopia. By DAVID BUXTON. Lindsay Drummond Ltd.: London, 1949. Pp. 200, 141 plates. 18s.

ETHIOPIA has been more fortunate in her European travellers than she herself usually realizes. From the days of Alvarez and Pais, the monumental works of Bruce and Salt, the many nineteenth-century books and tales up to the fairly numerous descriptions of Ethiopia in the twentieth century, some frivolous or biased, others scholarly or sincere, Ethiopia has been presented to the world as a country mysterious and fascinating, on the one hand, and as a fertile field of scholarly endeavour, on the other. Few of the books on Ethiopia written in the present century can compare with the descriptive vigour of those of former times, and often political likes and dislikes have obscured the real issues and made Ethiopia the subject of biased and controversial dissertations.

David Buxton's book is free from these failings and represents a valuable addition to the ever increasing literature of Aethiopia. In the preface the author modestly disclaims all pretence to writing a treatise on Ethiopia, and merely promises to produce a good picture-book. He has more than succeeded in this aim. The 141 photographs, all taken by the author himself, are probably the finest and most representative collection of pictures of Ethiopia, covering all aspects of people and country, hitherto published. Those who know the country

will at once recognize that Mr. Buxton has given what is essential in Ethiopia and Ethiopian life, and those who do not know this part of Africa can hardly be presented with a more suitable introduction. And this is also the case with Mr. Buxton's brief sketches of the country and its inhabitants. He writes in a pleasing style, *sine ira et studio* (rare in a book on Ethiopia), and his descriptions (some quite excellent) are always factual rather than grandiose, a way of writing which the splendour of the country has often induced in those who attempt to describe it. Most important, the author has really caught the atmosphere of Ethiopia and succeeded in conveying it to the reader.

It is against this background of general appreciation that the following critical remarks, all on minor points, have to be understood. On page 17, in referring to the difference between Ethiopia and Abyssinia, the author does not explain the precise connotation of both names. 'Abyssinia' nowadays merely refers to an ethnic unit and no longer to a political one and can, strictly speaking, only be applied to those parts of the country which formerly belonged to the Aksumite Empire, i.e. the Tigre province and the highlands of Eritrea. The Greek name 'Ethiopia' (the country of the people with the 'burnt faces'), on the other hand, describes political boundaries rather than ethnic ones and may be applied to the whole empire in its entire geographical expansion.

On pages 17 and 18 Mr. Buxton tries to justify his system of transliteration of Ethiopian names. It is, of course, true that there is no 'generally accepted' system of transliteration, but there is certainly a 'satisfactory' one. Mr. Buxton's hope of avoiding confusion by not using Italian and French forms is, unfortunately, not fulfilled, as he makes confusion worse by employing queer mixtures of English and Italian habits of spelling. A few examples may suffice: Gheez (p. 25) should be spelled Geez; Guraghes (p. 27) without an h, the same applies to Denghel (p. 34), Ghiorgis (p. 78), Agherasalam (p. 99). The accents in Sénafé, Birelé (pp. 140 and 46 respectively) are superfluous, and the rendering of the first order of the Ethiopian syllabary is most confused, sometimes even in transliterating the same word: Gabra (p. 61), Gebra (p. 185).

Mr. Buxton's categorical statement that Ethiopian traditional arts are of 'Western origin' (p. 21) requires qualification, and so definite an assertion would certainly have needed proof and elucidation. What about Egyptian and Nubian influences? The date of 1,000 B.C. for the colonization of Ethiopia by immigrants from southern Arabia (p. 25) is certainly too early, and we have no reason to think that this wave of migration set in before the fourth century B.C. The Sabaean alphabet is not a syllabary (p. 25); the quasi-syllabic script is precisely the innovation the Aksumites have brought about. The early invaders did, of course, not speak Geez (p. 26), nor can it be said that Amharic is more Cushitic than Semitic. Such generalizations have no value and could with advantage have been left out in a book of this nature. Studies on the Cushitic substrate underlying the Semitic Abyssinian languages are in their infancy, and all definite conclusions must be premature. I am not sure that it is not too early to say that Amharic is 'now fast becoming the lingua franca of Ethiopia' (*ibidem*); it is still only spoken by a minority (though the ruling one), and other major languages, such as Tigrinya, Galla, Sidamo, or Somali, have hitherto not shown a pronounced tendency to lose ground in favour of Amharic. Of course, if the endeavours of the present Government and its successors in this respect are consistently pursued during the next fifty years or so, this may indeed become true. Prophecies of this kind are, however, even more difficult in Ethiopia than elsewhere.

Mr. Buxton's remark that the 'Tigrean House have continued, from time to time, to disturb the peace' is the only biased observation I have noticed in his work. On the same page (39) the author is right in saying that Menelik played the international game with remarkable astuteness, but he is not quite accurate in asserting that Menelik 'gave nothing away'. He gave the Eritrean highlands away, which clearly betrayed his Shoan origin; his Tigrean

predecessor, John, could never have taken such a step. Shoa has, since Menelik, indeed become the centre of the Ethiopian Empire (p. 42), but most other provinces would deny that this is more than a geographical accident.

On p. 63 the reference to the traditional knowledge of the scriptures among Abyssinians is not quite clear. Ethiopians do not, of course, rely in this respect on 'traditional knowledge', but normally study the scriptures themselves with great zeal. The origin of the Masqal festival is rather more complex than the author's observations on page 81 would suggest. There is more than one tradition associated with the origin of the feast, and these traditions often vary from region to region.

The plural of Dankali has apparently caused Mr. Buxton some headache. It appears as the correct Danakil (*passim*) as well as in the ugly and hybrid form Danakils (pl. 120); but for the singular he uses not only the correct Dankali but often also Danakil (p. 129).

Typical Tigrean villages are not 'utterly different' from the villages of Shoa (p. 129); they are normally (though there are exceptions) the same 'humble huts' to be found in Shoa, though different from those in the extreme south of Ethiopia.

Mr. Buxton's description of the monasteries' attitude towards their manuscripts (p. 139) will be echoed by many who have had the same experience.

The author is also right in feeling (p. 145) that Harar is not Ethiopia at all. Its origin as an independent Muslim Emirate is still very apparent, and it will probably be a long time before these distinctive features of Harar fall a victim to the ever-increasing pressure of uniformity and assimilation.

In an appendix to the book Mr. Buxton reprints his article on the Ethiopian rock-hewn churches first published in *Antiquity*, vol. xx. The reader would be well advised to study this interesting account simultaneously with Findlay's 'Monolithic Churches of Lalibela', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, Cairo 1943. One would also express the hope that Mr. Molesworth (formerly Press Attaché, H.M. Legation, Addis Ababa), who has visited the rock-hewn churches, will one day make his views and impressions public.

The author everywhere pays generous tribute to those who have preceded him in writing on Ethiopia. He has carefully consulted the sources from Alvarez to the present day, but even in so limited a field as Ethiopia so much literature has now accumulated that one need not wonder that some of it has escaped Mr. Buxton's vigilant eye. This applies, for instance, to the description of Ham (p. 142), where the author would not appear to have seen Conti Rossini's article 'L'iscrizione etiopica di Ham', Rome 1940.

All these remarks refer to minor points of detail and do nothing to detract from the great value of a most informed and informative book on Ethiopia, perhaps the best description since Cheesman's *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*. Mr. Buxton has seen so much of Ethiopia and travelled so extensively that one can only hope to hear more from him on this subject. He rightly says (p. 22) that bad books on Ethiopia are plentiful and good ones rare. His book may justly be counted among those rare exceptions.

E. ULLENDORFF

Histoire de l'Empire du Bornou. Par Y. URVOY. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, No. 7. Librairie Larose, Paris: 1949. Pp. 166, cartes.

IN the palmy days of l'Afrique Française, many works of high authority and erudition came from the presses of both Paris and Algiers on African subjects, but it was noticeable that, certainly down to 1930, no study of note dealt with the history of the ancient Empire of Bornu. Though more than one valuable work was written about the Chad Basin, Kanem, and Wadai, and their peoples, the French in the Territoire du Chad seemed to take little interest in their ancient Kanem capital, N'jimi, or its former rulers.

The author or compiler of the work under review—Yves Urvoy—is no longer alive, but

a brief introductory note speaks of him as an ' *infatigable travailleur* ', who has left ' *l'énorme masse de notes, documents, manuscrits de toute sorte* '. One must respect M. Urvoy's enthusiasm, and agree with his editor that to their compatriots this book will no doubt be ' *l'un de ses travaux les plus précieux* ', for its subject is of importance to any nation with Sudanese interests.

In fact, however, the book is almost entirely a compilation from other works: for instance, from the mid-nineteenth-century travellers, Barth and Nachtigal; from translations of Arabic literature, and from a number of monographs, pamphlets, or magazine articles published by the Nigerian Government, the Royal African Society, and other sources, in the years before the Great Wars; there are also some references to Landeroin and one or two other French writers who published works dealing with the Sahara or Sudan in the not too distant past.

The pre-Bornu Central Sudan was at one time peopled, as is well known, by races called by the Berbers So or Sao (pp. 18, 20). They were the autochthones of Chad, and there were several varieties of them in the regions which later became the seat of the Bornu Empire; but except that in the N'gala (Dikwa) region their mode of burial—constricted in pots—has been observed and some small clay figurines have been found, not much is known of them, and their culture is probably in the main irrelevant to the development of the Empire of Bornu.

The first three parts of the book, relating to the periods from 700–1819, are held together, so to speak, by a number of extracts from translations of Arab authors, such as El Bekri, Edrisi, and Ibn Khaldun, made by De Slane, Dozy, and other Arabists. These are, of course, important for the period to which they relate, but such further details as are supplied come mainly from the other sources mentioned above, which are of unequal value, and in some cases apt to be misleading. These chapters give a fair though sketchy account of the development of the Bornu Empire, and its prolongation in part by the Kuburi Sheikhs or Shehus of the present day.

In his preface, dated July 1939, M. Urvoy states that he is not really interested in ' *kings and battles* '—and that ' *l'importance historique indiscutable de la dynastie Sefouwa est moins dans les gestes d'empereurs quelconques, que dans l'armature qu'elle fournit au développement de l'état Kanemien-Bornouan et de la forme de société qu'il incarne* '. One can have nothing but sympathy for this ideal—not only as regards Bornu, but for the whole Sudan belt—but the dissection of such evidence or materials as now survive demands a more intimate personal knowledge and local familiarity with the peoples and languages which are relevant to the problem than M. Urvoy would seem to have possessed. Legends do not carry us very far in themselves; on the other hand, the correct interpretation of such historical data as have survived the centuries is very important.

One naturally turns to the account of the founding of the Kanem Kingdom (pp. 24–9) to supply some kind of appraisal of the scope and authority of this work. The first thing that strikes the reader is that the author seems to accept at their face value, as read with Western eyes, the legends of the origin of the so-called Sefawa dynasty of Bornu from the great Saif-ibn-Dthi Yazan of Yaman, as well as the lists of *Mais* (Kings) which, with small variations, have been handed down by the Kanuri *Girgam* or list of ancestors, and its Arabic counterpart, which latter was copied by Barth, and is still quite commonly met with in Bornu. On the other hand, he refers to a critical synthesis of these lists in Annexe No. VI of the book: an Annexe which apparently was either never written, or by some oversight has been left out of the volume, in which the last Annexe is No. V.

Even so, M. Urvoy apparently did not realize that these names of the ' *Dugawa dynasty* ' of *Mais*, as he calls them, are for the most part merely symbols; that in fact the name Dugu itself means ' *the son of a daughter of a Mai* ' (King), just as in Tamashek *tegasi* means ' *son*

of a sister', and so 'heir', i.e. in a matrilineal society. Thus also Dugu's successor's name Fume connotes that he wore a mouth veil as do the Tuareg of to-day. Quite briefly the Dugawa *Mais* down to Umme Jil-mi (No. 12) were of Tuareg affinity, i.e. down to roughly A.D. 1100 when they became Moslems; they began to count their descent through males, and then invented a pedigree stretching back to Saif-ibn-Dthi Yazan, after—probably—first trying out the value of a professed connexion of similar nature with the Ummayyad dynasty of Damascus.

An inaccurate statement occurs in Chapter 11 of Book III, p. 75, where in a note the author speaks of Barth (and Palmer in *Sudanese Memoirs*) as having confused 'Aissa' with 'Amsa' in relation to Idris Alooma (1579–1602/3), making Aissa the Queen Mother or *Magira*, who was regent for 7 years (1562–70) during the minority of her son (sic). But though Aissa Kile N'girmarammi was regent and guardian of Idris Alooma during these years she was not his mother; and the honorific title *Magira* or 'Queen Mother' does not necessarily imply parenthood. In fact Idris Alooma was the son of Mai Ali ibn Idris (1545–6), the son of Idris Katakarmabe (1503–26), and his mother, Amsa, was the daughter of the Bulala Mai of Fitri. He was born—probably in 1547/8—after the death of his father Ali.

There are a good many other statements in the work which might be queried, and it is a pity that death prevented the author from revising it. Still, it was worth while to publish it in the hope that someone else will work on the material listed therein, and publish a more exact, better documented, and well-indexed work on this important subject, as well as some better maps of the regions under discussion.

H. RICHMOND PALMER

Ndevo Yeyombe Lwizho and other Lilima texts. Edited with English translation and notes by G. FORTUNE, S.J. Communications from the School of African Studies, New Series, No. 21, July 1949, University of Cape Town. Pp. 87. 4s.

THE form of this publication follows the tradition set by such publications as *Some Venda folk tales* and *Some Kgatla animal stories*. There are 24 pages of Lilima text and 24 pages of translation (pp. 4–53), followed by notes on the grammar, phonetics, phonology, and lexical material of Lilima (pp. 54–86). The author has used an orthography based on that standardized for other Shona dialects by Doke as 'the comparison between Kalaŋa and Central Shona was made clearer when both were written in a common orthography'. In the notes the Lilima forms are compared with Venda, Shona, and Sotho—sometimes with Nguni.

It is interesting to note the appearance of the class 20 prefix *ku-* here, which was first observed in Venda by Meinhof. Another interesting observation is the appearance of the nasalized neutral vowel *-a-* in class 9 before *-j-* and *-w-* stems and vowel stems where a variable nasal would otherwise appear. This nasalized vowel does not appear before a stem with initial *-i-*, e.g. *ṛṛi* (doer) cf. *kuṛi* (to do) but *ṛjezeṛi* (sleeper) cf. *kuezeṛa* (to sleep).

The method of presentation of the material is interesting. The formal and semantic systems classified here are fragmentary and are certainly not claimed to be complete. The author himself says that he has assumed a knowledge of Central Shona phonetics and grammar. From an ethnological point of view the texts are also incomplete, since they would only be intelligible to an ethnologist who knows something about the peoples of that area. What then is the value of this publication? Its value lies in the fact that the texts allow a person of Lilima culture to explain the phenomena dealt with, e.g. the importance and value of live-stock, some Lilima *mitupo* ('totems') and *Valumbila*, an account of the spread of Masojani's tribe. The translations attempt to approximate the linguistic and cultural background of the texts, while giving a certain amount of ethnological information.

The grammatical analysis employed by Father Fortune is based on that used in *A Text-Book of Zulu Grammar* by Prof. C. M. Doke.

E. WESTPHAL

Studies in African Land Usage in Northern Rhodesia. By WILLIAM ALLAN, O.B.E., B.Sc., A.I.T.C.A., Assistant Director of Agriculture, Northern Rhodesia. (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, Number 15) Cape Town: O.U.P. for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 1949. Pp. 86. 7s. 6d.

In the 1920's, when Native Reserves were being demarcated in Northern Rhodesia, the Agricultural Department of the Government hardly existed and was in any case not concerned with the subsistence agriculture of the African population of the Territory. In consequence the only estimates available for the land requirements of Africans were guesses, not based on any careful study of actual gardens. These guesses have in general proved to be underestimates, and the movement of people into the Reserves led to shortage of garden land. The projected improvements in the agricultural methods used in the Reserves and in the water-supplies available, both implied in the Reserve schemes, did not occur, and by 1940 the situation had become sufficiently serious to attract the attention of the Government, intent by that time on increasing the food production of the country. A counter-movement was begun, in which people were moved back from the Reserves into adjacent areas where they were required to adopt soil conservation methods and other alterations in agricultural techniques.

This second movement of population was more carefully thought out than was the earlier move, and much of the effort of the now enlarged Agricultural Department was directed towards making the move a success. A general survey of the whole country had been begun a few years before by the Government Ecologist, and this was followed by detailed studies of the more congested areas. Some account of the objects of these studies was given in Allan's article 'African Land Usage' (*R.L.I.J.*, 3 June 1945, pp. 13-20) and Allan was one of the authors of the recently published report *Land Holding and Land Usage among the Plateau Tonga of Mazabuka District* (Cape Town, O.U.P., 1949). He was personally responsible for much of the practical work involved in deciding who should go where in the move. In the paper here reviewed there are four essays relating to different aspects of the movement of people, as well as a short note on the associated topic of *citemene* control. The first essay deals with the method of calculation of land requirements in relation to the soil, vegetation and indigenous method of agriculture, and discusses how land can sometimes remain grossly overpopulated for a considerable time. The last essay deals with the principles followed in the movement of population out of the overcrowded Reserves in the Eastern Province and elsewhere from 1941 onwards and with the techniques employed to introduce changes in agricultural methods. The second and third papers discuss in detail land conditions in two areas of central Northern Rhodesia.

Allan presents the technical information in his essays clearly and interestingly and cites data from other ages and parts of the world to illumine conditions peculiar to Northern Rhodesia. He defines several new terms, such as the *cultivation factor* and the *cultivable percentage*, and marshals a body of evidence to defend the conclusion that the percentage of land in Northern Rhodesia that could possibly be cultivated, using existing techniques, is very low. The earlier attempts to assess African land requirements were inaccurate because the cultivable percentage was always taken to be higher than it really was. The author, as an agriculturalist, is primarily concerned with productivity per square mile and per man-year, but agriculture is a human activity and he is well aware of the social problems raised by this attempt by the Government to initiate an agricultural revolution in the Territory. These essays provide in admirably lucid form essential background information for the study of present day economic and social questions in rural Central Africa.

J. A. BARNES

The Artists of the Rocks. By WALTER BATTISS, with introductions by l'Abbé HENRI BREUIL and Professor C. VAN RIET LOWE. Pretoria: The Red Fawn Press, 1948. Pp. 243, illus., 15 plates in colour, limited edition. £4. 4s.

PROFESSOR VAN RIET LOWE in his introduction to this work states that if the author's view, that the story of art in Africa is longer and older in South Africa than elsewhere in the continent, is correct, then this new work of Battiss 'will go down to posterity as one of the most significant and important milestones not only in the study of prehistoric man but also in the study of the History of Art'. Commenting on the author's qualifications Professor van Riet Lowe says that the value of Battiss's work lies in his long experience, his approach, which is essentially that of the artist and draughtsman with a thorough understanding of materials, technique, form, line, and colour, and his deep understanding and sympathy for the primitive; he acknowledges that Battiss's gifts have tempered the objective and all-too-often aloof approach of the archaeologist. He states further that Battiss's independent recognition of two separate art-groups, which antedate in their inception the art of the Bushman, is supported by archaeological evidence and that the oldest local arts, the Early or Classical period of Engraving, may have been executed ten or more millennia ago whereas the Late or Romantic (Bushman) period may be reckoned in centuries.

In his introduction the author states that the main purpose of the book is to reveal as accurately as possible what kind of prehistoric art exists in South Africa and to attempt to analyse it and identify the artists. The various theories of the origins of cultures are briefly stated, but Mr. Battiss eschews theories and believes it is better to learn from the paintings and engravings themselves. *The Artists of the Rocks* is thus based on field-work at three hundred sites.

The main portion of the book is devoted to a detailed examination and classification of examples of the two prehistoric picture arts—engraving on rock and painting on rock. These two techniques are seldom found to overlap, since each of them is peculiar to a certain geological formation. The author describes the various techniques employed, the use of colour and of natural irregularities in the rock surface. In both engraving and painting he distinguishes three periods which show distinctive characteristics in treatment, choice of subject, and design, and which he describes respectively as: an art of reverence; an autochthonous art; the art of illustration (Bushman art). He believes that the early and middle periods are the work of a vanished people, and that there is a flowing of techniques from one period to the next.

The author concludes that there were three classes of artists: the unidentified engravers who worked in the South West Transvaal towards the end of the middle Stone Age and were probably not Bushmen; unidentified painters whose art flourished in the North Eastern Cape Province, and who may have been Bushmen; the Little Bushmen responsible for the last engravings and paintings in Rhodesia, South West Africa, Cape Coast, and those which appear over the earlier art in the North Eastern Cape.

Carte Michelin No. 152, *Sahara: L'Épopée Leclerc*, Paris, 1949. 150 fr.

MICHELIN are well known for their motoring maps and guide-books. Many years ago they published maps of North and West Africa and of the Saharan routeways. This new map is an adaptation of these to show the Leclerc campaigns against the Libyan oases in 1940-2 and the final link with the British Eighth Army in 1942-3. There is a wealth of information as to roads, water-supplies, fauna, tourism, &c., and the relief forms are figured. There is also an inset for Mauritania. The map is both a vivid historical record and an admirable modern trans-Saharan motoring map. One would like to see another done for the Eighth Army campaigns. Meanwhile, the present map is stamped 'Vente en France exclusivement — Exportation interdite' — but why?

R. J. HARRISON CHURCH

Afrique Occidentale Française. Par J. RICHARD-MOLARD. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1949. Pp. xiv+239, illus., cartes. 300 fr.

THE author of this excellent and concise survey of French West Africa was, until December 1949, the geographer and Deputy-Director of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at Dakar. He is now Professor at the École de la France d'Outre-Mer. His study is the result of much detailed work on the social and economic geography of West Africa in general and of French Guinea in particular. This book is one of a series of studies of the French Union and, as Professor Monod says in his Preface, it is the first broad geographical synthesis and personal interpretation of French West Africa.

In an outstanding Introduction, Richard-Molard indicates the problems set by the immense extent of French West Africa, its small population, its axis of penetration from west to east and the difficulties of development due to the Sahara on the north and a poor coastline interrupted by richer foreign enclaves. A chapter follows on the physical environment—structure, climate, soils, coasts, &c., all being treated briefly but in an interesting manner.

Next follows a survey of the peoples and civilizations from prehistoric times. There is considerable detail on the Fulani groups, their possible origins and their languages, while a map shows their present distribution. The author also deals with the physical characteristics of the other very mixed races, as well as with language groups, religions, methods of social and agricultural organization and the problems of varying population distribution. These matters are related to the physical environment, a relationship unfortunately only rarely indicated in British anthropological studies.

A third chapter deals first with the story of penetration and occupation by Europeans—especially the French, and then outlines the political, economic, and social achievements and the problems of the present administration. There follows a chapter on the economy of French West Africa which analyses the factors and influences involved in the production of various raw materials.

There is a very comprehensive bibliography but, as is usual in smaller French books, there is no detailed index. The publishers have a poor technique of reproduction for the interesting but indistinct photographs. A very great deal of information and, above all, inspiration have been put into this book and it reads admirably.

R. J. HARRISON CHURCH

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Prepared in co-operation with Mr. H. G. A. Hughes, the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, School of Oriental and African Studies, London; and Mr. Kenneth Kirkwood of the Natal University College, South Africa.

Entries in this number cover approximately publications received from October 1949 to January 1950. A note on abbreviations of the titles of journals will be found at the end of the bibliography.

I. ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

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ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bull. Jurid. indig.	Bulletin des juridictions indigènes et du droit coutumier congolais [Élisabethville].
IFAN	Institut Français d'Afrique Noire [Dakar].
NADA	Native Affairs Department Annual [S. Rhodesia].
Sudan Notes	Sudan Notes and Records.
Tanganyika Notes	Tanganyika Notes and Records.

Other titles are abbreviated in accordance with the International Code.

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